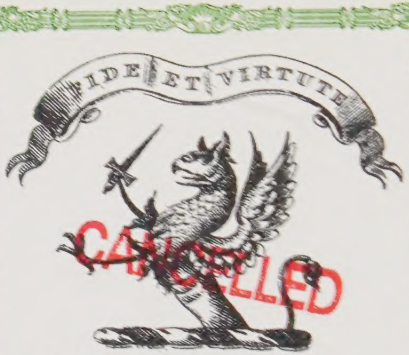


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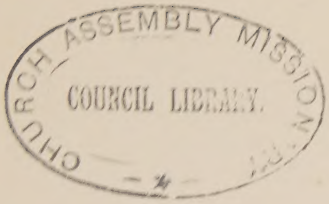

# The Jew and His Neighbour

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# THE JEW AND HIS NEIGHBOUR

## A STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

BY

James W. Parkes, M.A.

CANCELLED

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And it came to pass that when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother and slew him.—Genesis iv. 8. On what subject had they been quarrelling. They had said to each other: "Come, let us divide the world." One had taken the earth, and the other all the movables on it. Now one said to the other: "The ground on which you are standing is mine." And the other said: "The clothes you are wearing are mine." The one said: "Strip." The other said: "Get off my ground." That is why Cain rose against Abel and killed him.—*The Talmud.*

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# INTRODUCTION

This essay has grown out of the work of the International Student Service on the Jewish question in the European Universities. Acting simply as an intermediary, with no predetermined solution of its own to apply, it began to study this problem upon the same basis as it had already undertaken its other work, the simple but comprehensive principle of academic unity and co-operation. As the study advanced it became quickly obvious that the problem was not only that the Jew was a student but even more that the student was a Jew; so that it was impossible for it to do any serious work by confining its interest entirely to the student aspect of the question. The student is linked indissolubly to his race, and the problems which confront him are the same as those confronting other Jews, and the attitude to him on the part of other students is but a reflection of the attitude to other Jews on the part of the community. But if the student is thus merely one section of the whole question, it remains true that he is a very important part. There is, in fact, scarcely any other international question in which the Universities play a rôle of such importance as they do in this.

The economic side of the question is seen as starkly in the competition for employment of the ex-student as in any other field, and it is in the intellectual professions that this competition has a particular importance in relation to the Jews. They

have always played a big rôle in intellectual professions, and today their percentage in the student community is sometimes four or five times greater than the proportion of Jews in the general population. The political aspect is also emphasised by the large part which students in Europe play in politics, particularly in the politics of enthusiasm, which means the extremists of both sides, whether nationalists or communists. That the cultural aspect of the question, which figures frequently in racial anti-Semitism, is closely connected with the universities is evident. They are thus a particularly appropriate field for a study of the question.

This study is, it is hoped, the first of a series which will be published by the International Student Service. The subject was chosen because it is obvious not only that few people know very much about the past history of the Jews, but also because none of the problems of relationships today are either comprehensible or soluble without some understanding of their origin and of the particular forces which have moulded the Jewish community into its present form.

This is neither a complete history of the Jews, nor is it an exhaustive study either of their crimes or of their virtues. Its length and its title have imposed a rigorous selection, and for the choice I am naturally responsible. I have done my best to be impartial, though it is too much to expect that in a study of so controversial a question I should succeed in pleasing all sides. I have approached

the question with one presupposition only, a presupposition not specifically connected with this particular problem, but which I found more firmly established by every fresh piece of information I acquired. That presupposition is that in dealing with the Jewish problem, I am dealing with a problem which has its roots in history and in human nature, and not in anything supernatural, so that, given the patience and the goodwill requisite, it is one which can be unravelled by human intelligence and resolved by human action.

But let this not be taken for cheap optimism. The prejudices in which it is wrapped are the product of centuries. The characteristics of the Jewish people have been formed by a thousand years of peculiar history. Neither the one nor the other are going to yield to rapid treatment. This is particularly important in considering the line of solution which I set forth in the last chapter. I do not imagine that even if they seem obvious to the outsider, they are going to win acceptance without long struggle on both sides. There is no one universal panacea, and there is no going back to the past. If human nature became tomorrow all that the idealists desire, there would still remain in the Jewish question cultural, political, and economic difficulties which would tax the best intelligence to resolve. With the best will in the world progress is going to be slow.

If it be said that I have spent most of my argument upon exonerating the Jew, and that I have

shown him distinct partiality in my treatment, I would reply that such an appearance is inevitable in writing on such a subject. For my objective has been to show that the roots of the question lie in history and not in the unalterable characteristics of the Jew. It is the fatalism on both sides which is the greatest obstacle to progress. While freely admitting that there are delinquents among the Jews, as among all people, I have tried to show that the *average* Jew under auspicious circumstances is very much like the rest of us. Moreover, it is not the Jew who draws attention to the worst sides of the non-Jew. He is occupied rather with his own defence. But the non-Jew draws his arguments from the worst side of the Jew, so that I have naturally to deal particularly with his rehabilitation. But I would refer the reader to what I have said on the other side in the beginning of Chapter IX.

In conclusion I would add two things. I have used the word "anti-Semitism" throughout for the sake of simplicity, though I am well aware that it is of modern origin and applies primarily to the political movement of the nineteenth century; and I have given references, I hope, in every case where it seemed to me important to know the source of a particular opinion. Apart from this, all opinions are entirely my own responsibility, and are not to be taken as indicating the official attitude of International Student Service at whose request I prepared this study.

JAMES PARKES.

GENEVA, *June* 1930.

# The Jew and His Neighbour

## CHAPTER I

### THE JEWISH DISPERSION

THERE is no more extraordinary page in history than that which records the wandering of the Jewish people. From their home in the eastern Mediterranean they have spread to every country, have had contact with every civilisation, and yet have kept their identity for two thousand years. The first migration, which took place at the destruction of Samaria in 722 B.C., has left practically no traces, except perhaps in certain Jewish settlements which still exist in Khurdistan and that part of Asia. The Jews of today are the relics of the southern kingdom, whose capital was Jerusalem, and they have been in exile, some since the first destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon in the beginning of the sixth century B.C., and others since its final destruction as a Jewish capital by the Romans in A.D. 70. The Jews who inhabited Palestine in between these two dates were a relatively small fragment of the whole people. Many stayed in Babylon; others had already moved into different parts of the

Mediterranean, or western Asia; they were, in fact, a scattered people before the final catastrophe under Titus, and the destruction of the Temple. The main elements in their dispersion are clearly shown in the list of Jews recorded as listening to S. Peter on the first day of Pentecost.[1] "Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judæa and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia (*i.e.* the Roman province in western Asia Minor), in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians." We know also from the journeys of S. Paul that there were Jewish centres in all the important towns of Greece, and the coast of Illyria. As to their occupations we can only guess. The majority were probably artisans and traders. The Jews from Arabia would have been wandering Bedouin shepherds like their Arab neighbours. Few would have been agriculturalists, except where there were old-established settlements owning land, as in Egypt and Africa.

In A.D. 70 took place the final scattering. A few Jews remained in Palestine even after the destruction of Jerusalem, but the great majority were dispersed and sold as slaves. With a few exceptions, such as Rome, the Greek cities, and some trading centres on the Crimean coast, and perhaps the coasts of southern France and Spain, these were the first Jews to arrive in any numbers in Europe. The majority

[1] Acts ii. 5-11.

went to Italy, a large number were sold in Spain as slaves, and other slaves accompanied the legions of Titus to the Rhine and created the first groups in Cologne, and perhaps other Rhineland towns. There is a legend that some came to England before the end of the Roman occupation. During the next few centuries they spread and prospered and we hear very little about them. We learn most from the prohibitions which occur in the acts of the different Church councils. The interest of these acts is that they presuppose a community living in considerable friendship with the surrounding Christians—a situation which the clergy found hard to bear. Thus the Jews were forbidden to marry Christians, or to own Christian slaves—whom they might convert. Christians are forbidden to attend Jewish feasts. Of Jewish occupations nothing is said, from which we may conclude that there was nothing special to say about them. In fact, the Jews occupied a very useful place in the community, between the nobles and ecclesiastics on the one hand, and the ignorant peasant on the other. Their talents brought them into favour with the rulers, and if the Church was always disposed to persecute, the secular authorities usually were inclined to protect them.

As order slowly developed out of the chaos which accompanied the barbarian invasions which broke up the Roman Empire, the Jews spread further afield, along the Rhine and Danube, into Bohemia and Switzerland, and into most of the

towns of Italy. Their chief centre was still in Spain, where, under the Moorish kings of the south, they developed a brilliant civilisation.

At the end of the eleventh century an event took place which completely altered their position, and ushered in for them the bitterest centuries of their exile. This was the first crusade, when for the first time immense popular feeling was stirred up against them as the murderers of Christ, and the question was asked, " Shall Christian knights risk their lives to rescue the tomb of Christ from the infidel, when his very murderers live in security in our midst." To a certain extent the appeal was to baptise the Jews rather than murder them—the Visigoth King Sisebut of Spain had already initiated the system of either baptism or expulsion or execution in 612—but few Jews accepted baptism, so that the movement filled the cemeteries rather than the churches. The relative importance of the economic and religious elements in these massacres will be discussed in a later chapter. Here it is enough to note their effects. The practice initiated in the first crusade was followed in the later ones, and as there were various other occasions on which the Jews were either expelled or massacred in their old centres in the Rhineland and southern and western Germany, there resulted a steady flight eastwards into Poland, and into other countries such as England or Italy, which were out of the direct line of march of the crusaders.

The centuries which followed sowed the seed of

modern anti-Semitism, both by instilling hate into the Christians, and by degrading the Jew into becoming the despicable object which the anti-Semite believed him to be. The scope of his life was narrowed, physically by the ghetto, legally by the steady reduction of the number of occupations which he might follow (the climax was reached by a Bull of Pius V, in 1566, where the Jew was forbidden to indulge in any trade which brought him into contact with Christians, except the buying and selling of old clothes), and morally, both by the depressing effects of continual insecurity and persecution, and by the actual destruction of his books. In some countries his happiness survived longer than in others. In England he prospered until the beginning of the thirteenth century. Then followed an increasingly hard period until the expulsion in 1290. In France he was expelled and readmitted, and expelled again until a final expulsion in 1394. Sometimes the king turned him out, and the great barons received him; sometimes it was the other way about. In Germany where the impotence of the Emperor meant that there was no real central authority, his treatment varied from town to town, and from prince to prince. On the whole it grew steadily worse until, at the end of the middle ages, Germany, which had been the chief Jewish centre in northern Europe, possessed large Jewish congregations only in a few towns, of which Frankfurt, Prague, and Vienna were the chief.

Meanwhile, in Poland the Jews lived in consider-

able security, with a large measure of communal autonomy. But even here they were gradually forbidden to practise the different artisan occupations, which were monopolised largely by German guilds who introduced their intolerant ideas from Germany into the freer air of Poland. In spite of ecclesiastical opposition they were, however, in a much more favourable position in that country than in the rest of northern Europe, until the Polish kingdom began to break up in the seventeenth century under the combined attacks of the Cossacks and the Swedes.

In the south of Europe their position was also better than in France and Germany. Turkey, after the conquest of Constantinople, welcomed them, and changed the Balkan peninsula from being a prison, as it was under the Byzantine emperors, into being a haven of refuge. A graphic picture of the contrast is given in a letter of a German Jew written in 1454 to the congregations of Styria, the Rhineland, Moravia and Hungary, inviting them to come to Turkey. "I have heard of the afflictions more bitter than death which have befallen our brethren in Germany, of the tyrannical laws, the compulsory baptisms and the banishments which are of daily occurrence. I am told that when they flee from one place a yet harder fate awaits them in another. I hear an insolent people raising its voice in fury against the faithful; I see its hand uplifted to strike them. On all sides I learn of anguish of soul and torment of body; of daily exactions levied by

merciless extortioners. The clergy and the monks, false priests that they are, rise up against the unhappy people of God and say: let us pursue them even unto destruction; let the name of Israel be no more known among men. . . . Brothers and teachers, I, Isaac Zarfati . . . proclaim to you that Turkey is a land wherein nothing is lacking. If ye will, all shall yet be well with you. The way to the Holy Land lies open to you through Turkey. Is it not better to live under Moslems than Christians? Here every man may dwell at peace under his own vine and his own fig tree." [1] The result of this letter was a considerable migration of Jews from central Europe to Turkey.

In Italy they also led a more or less sheltered life. If they were unfavourably treated in one of the innumerable tiny states of which the peninsula was made up, they had not far to go, to find better treatment in another. In the papal states they were, on the whole, well treated at this period. As we shall see, the papacy itself was more liberal than the local Catholic clergy; and it is a noteworthy fact that one of the great refuges for the fugitives of the Inquisition in Spain was the papal city of Ancona.

The greatest mediæval Jewish civilisation was, however, incontestably that of Spain, where both in the Moorish kingdom which persisted in the south until the conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile and Aragon in 1492, and in

[1] Quoted in Graetz, *The History of the Jews*, English Edition, 1891, Vol. IV, 293.

the Christian kingdoms of the north, they lived under far more favourable conditions than in the rest of Europe. To a certain extent the Jews of southern France, in Languedoc, and the papal state round Avignon shared the life, as they did the civilisation of the Spanish Jews, and the same is true for the Jews in the Moorish dominions of North Africa. The high-water mark of this Jewish civilisation was reached in the period between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. The narrowness which characterised the life of the northern Jew in mediæval times was quite unknown in Spain. Every branch of knowledge was pursued for its own sake; and the Jews excelled in philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and medicine as much as in their own special Talmudical studies.[1] In fact, the philosophies of Aristotle and of the Neoplatonists were largely made known to the Europeans by the work of Jewish philosophers and of the Jewish savants who translated the Arabic commentaries of Averroes. Of the philosophers, the two most important were the Ibn Gebirol, known as Avicebron, the Neoplatonist, and Moses Maimonides, the greatest original Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, and a man who had a considerable influence on Christian thought. In addition to philosophers, there were many famous physicians, such as Isaac Judæus (*c.* 855–955), whose medical treatises still survive, and who was also of note as a Neoplatonic philosopher. He lived in

[1] See articles in *The Legacy of Israel*, pp. 129 and 173.

Kairuan in North Africa. Among the mathematicians was the famous Jewish traveller, Abraham ben Ezra, who was also a theologian and astrologer. More famous in the latter science was ibn Daud, known to the mediæval schoolmen as Avendeath. There was also a whole school of Jewish cartographers, who prepared maps for the Portuguese merchants and explorers, and a Jew, Cresques, drew the first map of the world embodying the discoveries of Marco Polo in 1375.

Literature and the fine arts were also not neglected. Jews acted as architects, particularly in North Africa, and though Jewish painters or sculptors had no place in a Moslem civilisation, there were great Jewish poets, who gave new life and flexibility to the Hebrew language. Of these the greatest was Jehuda Halevi, born in Old Castile in 1086. Though born in Christian Spain, he was equally at home in the Moorish south, and wrote Arabic fluently.

Lastly, the Jews occupied, both in the Christian and the Moorish section of the country, a very important position in public life and were entrusted with the highest offices in the state. Thus Abu-Yussuf Chasdaï ben Isaac Ibn-Shaprut was in control of foreign affairs, trade and revenue at the court of the Calif Abdul Rahman III, and was the most prominent statesman of his time. Samuel Nagid ibn Nagrela (993–1055), occupied the post of Grand Vizier to two Kings of Granada, with the title also of Prince of the Jews. A few centuries

later we find another Jew, Chasdaï Crescas, a learned Talmudist, possessing great influence at the Christian court of Juan I of Aragon. The list of Jewish statesmen closes with Isaac Abrabanel, who was actually Treasurer of Ferdinand and Isabella, who refused to part with him in spite of the anger of the Church. He himself, however, ultimately left Spain and died in Venice.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century there were said to be 850,000 Jews in Spain, including 72,000 in Toledo and 29,000 in Burgos. But this Spanish paradise began to lose its lustre before the end of the century. In 1391 there were massacres in various parts of Christian Spain, and many Jews professed Christianity to save their lives, though at heart they remained faithful to Judaism, and practised Jewish rites in secret. The fifteenth century saw a renewal of persecution and, since the Spanish Jews by their wealth and luxury had lost the taste for martyrdom, the number of nominal converts was very large. They were known to the Jews as the " Marranos," the " Damned." It was to prevent these converts from secretly practising Jewish rites that in 1480 the Inquisition was founded in Spain. It had no jurisdiction over those who openly professed Judaism, and therefore when it found that the Jews were doing all in their power to help their nominally Christian brethren to escape its clutches, the inquisitors recommended to the sovereigns the total expulsion of the Jews. This took place in 1492. The majority went to Portugal,

but were expelled from there also upon the wish of the Spanish sovereigns four years later. There still remained in the country a very large number of Jews by race who were actually or nominally Catholic. It was calculated that in some towns they amounted to thirty per cent. of the population. Against them the Inquisition continued to work until it was finally abolished in 1834. The Inquisition was right in its suspicion that many who had been forced to profess Christianity remained secretly faithful to Judaism. The settlements of "Portuguese" in London and Hamburg declared their Judaism as soon as they were allowed to profess it openly; and many "Catholics" came to Amsterdam in order to return to the Jewish fold. But the most extraordinary case of all was in Portugal itself, where complete religious liberty has been only recently proclaimed, and it is said that some five thousand families, which had been Catholic since the end of the fifteenth century, at once took advantage of their new liberty to proclaim openly their adherence to Judaism and to establish a synagogue.

The horrors of the Inquisition are too well known to require repetition, but some of the conditions of the trials are significant. The accused had no right to know who was his accuser, nor was he given more than a general statement, without detail of either time or place, of the actual accusation. It was, therefore, practically impossible to disprove it. Further, once in its clutches, he could only escape by proving his orthodoxy in a particular way—the

denunciation of others. For centuries a family, however distinguished, which had any Marrano blood in its veins could only secure immunity from the Inquisition by itself providing spies and information against others to the Holy Office. As condemnation involved the forfeiture of all property —and the informer got some of it—there were actually cases where a dead man was accused and, since he could not answer, his condemnation was a foregone conclusion. His body was thereupon dug up and burnt, and his property taken from his heirs.

The expulsion of the richest and most cultivated Jewish community in Europe naturally profoundly affected all the other Jewish centres which received the exiles. They quickly came to take the lead in their new homes. In western Europe their chief centres were Bordeaux and Amsterdam, and they also settled, though as Marranos, in Hamburg and London. The rise of these towns to commercial eminence during the sixteenth century was not a little due to these new arrivals with their wealth and, still more, their international experience. The majority, however, went east and south and founded or joined existing Jewish communities all along the north coast of Africa, in Italy, and in Turkey and the Levant. In many of these centres also they soon became commercially important, especially in Venice, in Egypt, and in Constantinople. Meanwhile, Spain itself, which should have increased enormously in commercial prosperity with the

rapid growth of her vast colonial empire in America, declined; and one of the chief reasons, if not the sole one, for this decline was the removal from Spain itself of one-tenth of her population, and that the tenth which contained the majority of the skilled artisans, the merchants and the men of business. In Italy it was another half-century before serious attempts to persecute the Jews were to begin with the attacks upon the Talmud and other Jewish books made by the Italian Inquisition in 1553.

The end of the sixteenth century, which saw the dawn of enlightenment in Europe, saw the Jews everywhere within Christendom reduced to the most abject condition. Even under Mohammedan rule their position was growing steadily worse. The most hopeful centres were those in western Europe where the Spanish Jews were influential. The greatest of these was Amsterdam, the "Dutch Jerusalem." Even here, however, the light of intellectual activity burnt relatively low, and the Dutch community produced no such brilliant personalities of Judaism as the Spanish. Narrowness and bigotry began to be the invariable hallmarks of orthodoxy, and it is significant that the greatest poet, Luzzatto, and the greatest philosopher, Spinoza, were both excommunicated by their communities.

The last country in which they lost their liberty was Poland. From the middle of the seventeenth century to its final extinction the Polish kingdom

was almost perpetually tormented by internal or external war, and in all of them the Jews suffered. In particular there were terrible massacres of the Jews during the Cossack risings from 1648 to 1653. The result was a continual flight of Polish Jews westwards, bringing with them the narrow rabbinical learning for which the Polish Jews were famous, and thereby still further limiting the Jewish spirit of western Europe.

The tragedy of the Jews was to go still further. In the sixteenth century, the century of the struggle for religious freedom, the Jews showed themselves as narrow as any of the Christian churches. In the eighteenth, the century of enlightenment, they were to show themselves lost in the depths of mediæval superstition. There had been growing up, as the position of the Jews grew worse, and consequently the outlook of the orthodox grew narrower, a great interest in all kinds of mysticism. The situation was parallel to that in which, more than fifteen hundred years earlier, the Apocalyptic literature appeared. In both cases the motive was the same—flight from the too terrible hardships of the actual world into a realm of fancy, and of the magical realisation of hopes interminably deferred. The seventeenth century witnessed several false Messiahs, of which the Smyrna Jew, Sabbatai Zevi, was the most famous. The depth of despair and demoralisation of the Jewish people cannot be better shown than by the fact that many Jews still continued to believe in him after he had saved his life

by accepting conversion to Islam. Following the Messianic movements came a great interest in the Kabbala, a collection of writings purporting to come from the earliest times, which were very parallel to the early gnostic theories in the Christian Church. Belief in the mysteries of the Kabbala was a natural reaction against the petty nature of orthodox rabbinism, which had come to starve the soul without satisfying the intellect.

Thus, exhausted by five or more centuries of persecution and expulsion from one refuge after another, hampered by all kinds of restrictive legislation in the places where they were still allowed to live, prevented from acquiring land, or exercising more than a few professions, they showed Europe, at a time when the idea of toleration was beginning to appear, all the most unpleasant sides of their character, pedantic exclusiveness, and mediæval credulity, intolerance and a contempt for general learning, and withal, the professions which they exercised were not those calculated to win respect, for the most of them were but pedlars and petty traders and moneylenders, dirty, ill clad, and despicable, a people without self-respect, and incapable of winning respect from others.

But even so, with their extraordinary power of recovery, the dawn was nearer than could have seemed possible. There arose among the Jews themselves a party calling themselves the "enlightened," who did not despise general culture. Under the leadership of Moses Mendelssohn, a

" tolerated " [1] Jew of Berlin, they began again to assert their intellectual life. Others followed. The idea of " assimilation " to European culture grew in strength, and Jewish philosophers and savants made their appearance once again in Europe. Foremost among them was Mendelssohn himself, who had a considerable reputation as a philosopher, and who was blessed with the friendship of the Christian poet, Lessing. Under the influence of a family of wealthy Jews at Königsberg, the brothers Friedländer, a Hebrew renascence movement sprang up, which found followers in both France and Holland. Another German Jew, Marcus Herz, was one of the most noted interpreters of Kant, and acted as assistant for some time to the great philosopher. Other noted thinkers were Solomon Maimon, who acquired fame by his autobiography, and was the friend of Schiller and Goethe, and Lazarus ben David, who was, for a short while, actually allowed to lecture in the University of Vienna on the philosophy of Kant.

It must be admitted that the narrow vessel of Judaism was unable to contain all the enlightened, and many of them, or their descendants, went over to Christianity, including the daughters of Mendelssohn himself. It was too great a temptation to

[1] It was the custom in various centres in Germany, including Prussia, for the King to " tolerate " the settlement of a few Jewish families under very stern restrictions. In Berlin fifty families were so accepted. No other Jews were allowed to settle there.

be resisted by those who had become intoxicated with the culture of Europe, and who found that they were rejected by the orthodox Jews as heretics, and yet not welcomed by cultivated circles unless they renounced their Judaism. Conversions became frequent among the better classes, especially the young intellectuals.

This reappearance of Jewish intellectuals met a response in movements for Jewish emancipation. France was actually the first country to put them on a complete equality with other citizens. This was done by the National Assembly at almost its last sitting in 1791. Holland followed in 1796. Joseph II, while not conceding full citizenship to the Jews, had considerably improved their position in Austria in 1781, and in some of the German states their position was also improved, but full emancipation in Austria, Germany and England was not achieved until different periods of the nineteenth century.[1]

Meanwhile the main bulk of European Jewry was to be found in Russia, which had inherited an enormous Jewish population in her share of the Partition of Poland. In the rest of Russia only Jews of certain narrow categories were allowed to live at all. The immense majority were confined to a territorial ghetto, the " Russian Pale," comprising the provinces of Minsk, Volhynia, Podolia, Vitebsk, Moghilev, Kiev, Chernigov, Novgorod-Seversk, Yekaterinoslav, and the region of Taurida (law of

[1] See Chapter VI, p. 125.

1794).[1] In the next year, on the third Partition, the provinces of Grodno and Vilna were added. During the nineteenth century various minor changes were made, mostly in the form of fresh restrictions within the Pale itself, but the Jews of Russia were, with certain exceptions, confined within these provinces up to the time of the revolution. They fulfilled all the responsibilities of citizenship, including military service and heavy taxation, but they saw little of its privileges. They had not yet obtained complete emancipation and full civic rights when the war broke out.

In the Pale in which they were allowed to reside they were prevented from obtaining land and from residing in the villages. Their occupations were largely petty peddling, and the sale of alcohol, occupations degrading to the man himself and unpopular with those with whom he came into contact. In the west, in "Congress Poland," the Jew had a certain amount more liberty, and there were rich Jew manufacturers who founded many of what are today Polish industries.

During the middle of the century, under the liberal Tsar Alexander II, there was a tendency to "assimilation" in Russia, and various Jewish authors were to be found urging the Jewish people to learn Russian and to look upon Russia as their home. Alexander was assassinated in 1881 and the liberal régime came to an abrupt end. One of the

[1] Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, Vol. I, p. 317.

first acts of the new Tsar was the proclamation of the famous "Statute concerning enforced Public Safety," which proclaimed autocracy and reaction in no uncertain tones. Though Alexander III was no mystic, he heard the "authentic voice of God" commanding him to take up vigorously the reins of government and inspiring him with the belief in the "strength and truth of autocratic power." He called upon his faithful subjects to eradicate from their midst "hideous sedition" and to "establish faith and morality." To assist them he gave all provincial governors the power of suspending the ordinary laws and of deporting without trial to Siberia any person considered to be guilty of "political unsafety." This special enactment was annually renewed down to the war. Though the only Jew concerned in the actual assassination of Alexander II was a Jewish woman who kept a house where the conspirators met, they were a good scapegoat, and in any case the reactionary government established by his successor was not likely to be favourable to them. With how much official direction will never be known, but certainly with official approval, there began to be rumours in south Russia that there might be dangerous demonstrations among the people against the Jews. The people obliged; and on 15th April 1881 the first pogrom took place in Yelisavetgrad. It was followed by many others all through the southern provinces, and there is no doubt that the officials were well aware of what was happening and did

little to prevent it. In some cases the police were not called out to stop the attacks until the second day of the rioting. These pogroms of 1881 were only the beginning. They were followed by others at intervals until 1905 and 1906; and again after the Great War, there were terrible pogroms in the Ukraine.

The result was naturally another Jewish exodus, exceeding in numbers all previous flights. Year after year tens and sometimes even hundreds of thousands of Jews crossed the frontier *en route* for western Europe and America. The latter country saw its Jewish population increase from little more than a hundred thousand to over three million in the forty years from 1881 to 1920. In addition there was a large settlement of Russian Jews in all the big towns of western Europe. In both cases these Jews were from the poorest and most ignorant strata of the Jewish people, entirely untouched by western ideas and, in the first generation, very difficult to absorb into the cadre of western society. It is these emigrants with their poverty and their strange ways who are responsible for a good deal of the revival of anti-Semitism in the industrial masses of Europe and America; and they were often, particularly in France and Germany, as unpopular with the older established Jews as they were with the Christians. The stream is still flowing into Poland and Galicia and therefrom into Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The Poles estimate that between two and three hundred

thousand have entered Poland since the Bolshevik revolution. Today, the Jews are distributed roughly as follows: Poland, Roumania, and Lithuania have the highest percentages. Next come Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. No other country of Europe has more than two per cent. Most have less than one. A quarter of the Jewish people today are in America.

Although Palestine contains less than one per cent. of the whole people it is not possible to close a survey of their history without a reference to it. The Zionist idea was born out of the pogroms of Russia[1] and had several Russian propagators before it was taken up by an Austrian Jew, Theodor Herzl, who summoned in 1897 a Jewish conference at Basle, at which the foundations of a national policy for the establishment of a National Jewish home were laid. The movement coincided with a check in the policy of assimilation which had been going on throughout the nineteenth century. The growth of anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria-Hungary had not unnaturally discouraged the Jews who wished to think themselves distinguished from their fellow-ctitizens only by their religion. The time was ripe for the recovery of a Jewish consciousness. Nevertheless, though it won some support in western Europe, Zionism drew its strength from the oppressed Jews of the east. Various different

[1] It was not, however, entirely new. Compare *Zur Vorgeschichte des Zionismus, Judenstaatsprojekte* 1695-1845, by Dr Gelber.

schemes were suggested, and land was actually offered by the British Government in Uganda, but finally the Zionists decided that a Jewish Home could not be elsewhere than in Palestine. Though various colonies were already established there before the war, it was the publication by Lord Balfour in 1917, in a letter to Lord Rothschild, of the government's approval of the idea of founding such a home, and the promise of British support for it, which made Zionism practical politics. With the success or failure of the experiment, as well as with the Arab attitude to it, this book does not deal, being mainly concerned with the historical side of the Jewish question. It is, however, at the moment the central issue of Jewish politics and the determining factor in the attitude of perhaps a majority of young Jews to their European countries of residence. Its success or failure will be of supreme importance to the whole future of the Jewish race, as well in its internal structure and psychology as in the attitude of others to it.

## CHAPTER II

### THE NATURE OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM

From the rapid survey of the previous chapter it is evident that the national experience of the Jew is unique. Though we shall have reason later to dispute the attribution to him of many characteristics upon racial grounds, yet he has certainly exhibited mental resilience to a unique degree. He is as bad as nature whom *expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*. Driven from one city, in a few years he is flourishing in another. Oppressed for centuries and then given a breath of fresh air, and he is immediately discussing the philosophy of Kant, and holding his own in business and the learned professions with any competitors. No other people have certainly been put to such a test. But certainly none have shown this power of rapid revival to anything like the same extent as the Jew. It was an essential condition without which he would have long ago disappeared.

Together with this mental resilience goes his quick intelligence. No one has called the Jew dull or stupid, and even those who consider that his intelligence is limited in various directions admit its exceptional quality within the limitations. Jealousy at the Jewish ability to " get on " is a quite definite element in popular anti-Semitism. In no

more striking fashion is his intellectual activity shown today than in the mass of Jewish students who are to be found everywhere studying in the universities and technical colleges of western Europe, because for one reason or another they cannot study at home. The Polish people are today about thirty millions. There are in the Polish universities about 37,000 students, representing 0.125 per cent. of the population. The Jews in Poland are three millions, and there are about 7700 Jewish students, or 0.25 per cent. of the Jewish population. But in addition to these students in Poland itself there are reckoned to be nearly 9000 Polish Jewish students studying abroad. There are many different reasons for this, but not the least important is the Jewish passion for education.

While exceptional intelligence and mental resilience may well be called racial characteristics, since he has shown them all through his recorded history, there is another which is equally conspicuous today but which has a historical origin. The Jew is pre-eminently a town dweller. Though geographically he is scattered all over the globe, yet more than a quarter of the whole Jewish population of the world live in the eleven towns of New York, Chicago, Warsaw, Philadelphia, Budapest, Vienna, Odessa, Berlin, London, Lodz, and Kiev. In New York alone live more than a ninth.[1]

[1] New York, 1,765,000; Chicago, 325,000; Warsaw, 321,997; Philadelphia, 270,000; Budapest, 215,512; Vienna, 201,513; Odessa, 190,135; Berlin, 172,676; London,

Their concentration is as conspicuous as their dispersion, but it is not merely that they are concentrated into a few towns, but also into a few occupations. As an example we can take the Jewish population in Poland, which is the largest in Europe. According to the census of 1920, only 5.8 per cent. of the Jews were occupied with agriculture; 33.8 per cent. were in industry; 41 per cent. in commerce; 7.5 per cent. in public employment and the liberal professions. But even within these categories their distribution is irregular. Thus, only 2.6 per cent. are engaged in heavy industry, while clothing occupies 14.3 per cent. and food production 6.3 per cent. The same is seen in the division of commercial employments: 36.5 per cent. are merchants, while co-operatives, hotels, restaurants and all other commercial undertakings only count 4.5 per cent. Looking at these statistics in a different way we find that whereas the Jews are 10 per cent. of the total population, they are less than 1 per cent. of the agriculturalists, 66 per cent. of the goldsmiths and watchmakers, 48 per cent. of the leather workers, 47 per cent. of the tailors, 80 per cent. of the merchants, and 30 per cent. of the theatrical and moving picture industry.[1]

170,000; Lodz, 155,860; Kiev, 128,141. These figures are taken from *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, 2nd edition, 1929.

[1] Gliksman, *L'Aspect économique de la question juive en Pologne*, p. 100. The figures are based upon the census of 1920, and have probably been modified in certain directions since. The growth of Polish co-operatives has reduced the number of Jewish merchants, but it would probably be found that few of these have been able to obtain another profession.

This concentration in dispersion is the most striking characteristic of the Jews of today; and it must be admitted that, taken by itself, it is not enough to differentiate them completely from other people. The Jews are town dwellers; but the whole trend of the nineteenth century has been towards the town, and it is uncertain if any other people have shown a bigger drift from town to country life than has actually been shown by the Jews in recent times. Though it is unique for a whole people to be dispersed, the Jews are very rarely the largest minority in any country. America, which has the largest Jewish population in the world, has many larger national elements as unassimilated as the Jews. Professional concentration is a feature of many emigrant populations, such as the Irish, the Polish, and the Italian. There were in the Middle Ages the Lombards and the Cahorsin who were exclusively bankers, and there have been many trading peoples through history, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, the Genoese, and the Venetians. It cannot even be said that mental alertness and resilience are uniquely Jewish characteristics. The Japanese emergence in the nineteenth century was in its way as remarkable as the Jewish persistence through nineteen centuries.

But if there is no one thing about the Jews which is unique, why are they not merely a problem, but one of the oldest and most complicated which exist, a problem bristling with controversies, in which no statement is too fantastic to gain credence, and no

accusation too improbable to win serious believers?

In one way it is, of course, easy to reply: "Because of the Jews," and to leave it at that. But there are many elements in the question for which the Jews are not directly responsible, and for which a study of history, religious, economic, and political, is essential. Many mistakes are also made by the attribution of the whole problem to the "uniqueness" of the Jews; and parallels which exist between different aspects of the Jewish situation and other situations with which the Jews have nothing to do, are usually neglected. The result is that much is attributed to specifically Jewish causes, which is really due to facts inherent in their particular situation.

And yet the Jews are a people apart. There is a sense in which they are a people unique among the peoples of the world. Three explanations of that peculiar situation are possible. The first, and oldest, is that it is supernatural, the direct action of God, the condemnation of the "deicide race." Such an explanation has a Jewish counterpart in certain orthodox interpretations of the Prophets and later Apocalyptical writers. Many Jews accept with a kind of fatalism the explanation of the divine anger as the sole cause of their misfortunes, and look to no human effort or understanding for the betterment of their position. They rely only on the direct action of God for the destruction of their enemies and the restoration of the glories of Sion.

The second explanation is that it is "unnatural," the result of the deliberate malice of the party to which the speaker does not belong. It is either the envy and jealousy of the Gentiles which is solely responsible, or it is entirely caused by the hostility of the Jews to the rest of humanity. A third, and admittedly prosaic explanation compared to the other two, is that the Jewish problem is composed of an admixture of historical facts, misunderstanding, ignorance and prejudice—just like all other problems which vex human society.

There is a terrible mystical attractiveness in the supernatural explanation, and it must not always be taken for a cloak to justify personal dislike or inaction. The idea that there is "a divinity which shapes our ends" is a healthy one. But in this case, stripped of the more than Æschylean grandeur of the idea of the hand of God pursuing relentlessly for centuries a whole race, it involves a conception of the character of God at variance with both Christian and Jewish religion. In the law given upon Sinai punishment did not extend beyond the third or fourth generation, and Isaiah's words that the Jews had "received at the Lord's hands double for all their sins" would need to be multiplied to infinity to account for all the suffering through which that people have passed in the centuries since it was written. And on the Christian side it breaks down in the one fact of the words on the Cross, the Cross which is supposed to be responsible for this martyrdom of a whole people: "Father, forgive

them; they know not what they do." Neither Jewish nor Christian believers can really lay the blame upon their God.

Nor does the second explanation, that of malice, account for the facts in a more satisfactory fashion, whether it be Gentile malice born *ex vacuo*, or Jewish, born *ex ghetto*. The explanations based upon this hypothesis break down, sometimes by their very absurdity, sometimes by their self-contradiction. Take the *cause célèbre* of the Black Death. That plague which ravaged mediæval Europe in 1348 was generally believed to be due to the Jews having poisoned the wells and springs; and thousands of Jews died at the hands of the executioner or of the mob as a result of this belief. But what was the poison supposed to be which could produce so deadly an effect—for the Black Death is estimated to have killed a quarter of Europe? It was a mixture of Christian hearts with the sacred wafer stolen from the churches! It would take the most fervent believer in black magic to believe that a mixture not merely so innocent but even so holy could have such devastating effect. Equally unsatisfactory are the popular Jewish explanations of this or that piece of "anti-Semitism" in which no account is taken of the political or the economic problem involved.

That malice had played its part is indubitable, but that is a much less serious side of the question than the existence of numberless sincere and high-minded Jews on the one side and "anti-Semites"

on the other, who sincerely believe in their own perfect innocence and the entire culpability of the other side. Malice is a prerogative of neither Jew nor Gentile. It occurs in all human relationships. But it is out of all proportion to the universality or depth of this problem to attribute to it a more than subordinate rôle and a rôle which can, in such a study as the present one, be almost entirely ignored.

In between pure malice and conflicts about real difficulties and differences of opinion, a certain place must be given to anti-Semitism arising out of fear and ignorance. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico.* It is well to remember, for example, that the early Christians suffered at the hands of pagan Rome exactly the same kind of accusation as the mediæval Jew at the hands of the mediæval Christian. He also was accused of using the blood of children for his secret ritual and of practising obscene rites within the closed doors of his community. Fear and ignorance probably play as large a part in the pogroms committed by the peasants of eastern Europe as retaliation for what seem in their minds very serious grievances. It is this fear and ignorance which has resulted in the infliction of a punishment out of all proportion to the real or imaginary crime. But even here the crime was rarely entirely imaginary. It was not inflicted upon an absolutely innocent and unoffending community. Some of the most terrible pogroms in history were those of the Cossack army of Chmielnicki in 1648 and 1649. Tens of thousands of Jews were massacred with

every refinement of torture. No crime could justify such revenge, but, at the same time, the Jews had been acting for many decades in the harshest possible manner as agents and tax-collectors of the Polish nobility and had done all in their power to oppress the unfortunate Cossacks. Chmielnicki himself had been robbed of both his wife and his property by one of the Jews.[1]

Neither side can claim to be absolutely innocent, nor can it throw the whole blame on the other. To reckon up the proportion of guilt to be laid to each is not a very profitable speculation, for there are innumerable *imponderabilia* which will be differently estimated by every historian. It can only be said that the Jews being everywhere a minority have had to pay full measure for every crime that has been laid, rightly or wrongly, at their doors. Of more value than the pot calling the kettle black is for the two together to set about getting some soap. In other words, the problem has roots in history which have been obscured by a mass of tendencious literature of attack and defence, and until it has been studied with more impartiality by both sides together, it is too early to say that it is not soluble by the ordinary human methods of understanding and mutual goodwill.

Leaving aside, then, the supernatural and the unnatural explanations, we are confronted with a problem of human relationships which, however difficult, we can assume to be capable of reasonable

[1] Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Vol. V, p. 7.

human study and ultimately of human solution. But first it is necessary to get some clearer idea of what actually is involved in the problem itself. While it can legitimately be called "the Jewish problem" it is well to realise that there are as profound differences between Jew and Jew as between Jew and anti-Semite. It has been said with some truth that there is no fiercer anti-Semite than the converted or assimilated Jew.

In general, in eastern Europe the Jews are a nation, in the west, a religion. There are, of course, some in western Europe who, belonging to the Zionist movement, consider the Jews to be a nation and not merely a religious faith. There are also assimilated Jews in eastern Europe, but on the whole the division into west and east remains true, and is emphasised by the existence in most of the east of Europe of Minority Treaties recognising the rights of the separate national entities of which these States are made up to their own cultural and religious life and to the use of their own language. The English or French Jew who is at the same time a Zionist does not have a great difficulty in reconciling his Zionist sympathies with his citizenship. But his fellow Jew in eastern Europe has to face the problem in many fields. The most important is that of education, which involves not merely learning to read and write—itself a matter involving choice when there are various languages in the State—but also absorbing a particular culture. Education is viewed by the majorities as a powerful unifying

factor, and the teaching of history is used particularly to this end. To the minority, attendance at the State free school involves often the surrender of instruction not only in the mother tongue, but also in the national traditions and culture of the minority. To the assimilated Jew this is not important, for it is the language and culture of the majority which he wishes his child to learn. To the Zionist it is the opposite. He wishes his child to learn not only the language of the majority (which is supposed to be taught in all minority schools), but also Hebrew or Yiddish and the traditions of the Jewish people.

These two main sections have naturally also entirely different ideas as to the solution of the problem. For the assimilationist it is a question of removing all distinctions, leaving the practice of the Jewish religion as much a personal matter as is that of the Protestant or the Catholic. He demands no separate recognition as an isolable entity within the State, but wishes rather to be recognised fully as an Englishman, or a Frenchman, or a German, who professes the Mosaic religion. In France and England this claim is, on the whole, granted to the Jew who has really assimilated himself, and thus for these people the Jewish problem ceases to exist by their ceasing to exist as a separate entity. But in eastern Europe it is not so easy to be an assimilationist. In Hungary the majority of Jews consider themselves to be Hungarians of Mosaic religion, and, to the outsider at least, their

patriotism is no whit behind that of the purest Magyar. But this claim to be Hungarian is not admitted by the Hungarian Magyar, to whom the attitude of the Jew is of no importance and who classes them all together as "Jews," whatever they may consider themselves. The position of these assimilated Jews in eastern Europe is made still more difficult by their pathetic isolation. They have rejected their Jewish past with its traditions of heroism and suffering; but they are rarely allowed to find a substitute in the past and the traditions of the nation in the land of which they may have been living for centuries.

The Jewish nationalist naturally sees the solution of the question in precisely opposite terms. He does not wish to be submerged but to be recognised. He does not wish to adopt the life or, in some cases, even the language of the majority, but to be allowed the full enjoyment of his own life and language. This sounds a reasonable claim, but it is made complicated by the fact that at the same time he claims the rights and has to accept the responsibilities of citizenship in the State in which he lives. A Jewish nationality exists internationally only for those who are actually resident in the Palestinian Mandate. A Zionist in another country is internationally a citizen of that country.

It would seem then at first as though it were impossible to treat at all the Jewish problem as a whole, and to a certain extent this is true; as it is also true that the particular questions involved in

it in one country are very rarely the same as they are in another. This means that on both counts there is no simple panacea which will solve every aspect of it in every place. But there is a larger sense in which it is still possible to speak of, and to treat, the Jewish problem as a unity, in that all Jews are in the eyes of their opponents just " Jews," and that from the historical standpoint it is not the differences in present-day opinion but a thousand years of common history which is at the root of the trouble.

For in the loose sense of everyday speech, anti-Semitism, whatever its particular cause may be in any particular place, is " instinctive," and as such is the common inheritance of a common past. The belief that group prejudices are in any scientific sense really primitive instincts, and as such a fundamental part of our human make-up for which we are not responsible, and which we cannot change, has been killed afresh by every new study of the subject.[1] But it is a corpse of remarkable vitality and is still produced at every " feast of reason and flow of soul " upon the subject. Anyone who has had anything to do with racial contacts is aware of this belief that racial prejudice is " instinctive "; and even though as an instinct it be scientifically non-existent, yet it has to be dealt

[1] See, for example, *Race Attitudes in Children* by Bruno Lasker, published by " The Inquiry," in which the position of Jewish children is considered and the attitude to them of other children.

with as a popular belief of primary importance. It is said of the Jewish problem, as it is said also of the race questions which involve colour, that the actual basis is economic inequality. Whatever truth this may contain where other race questions are concerned, it has only a partial application to the Jewish question, and, in any case, it does not make the ordinary inhabitant of central and eastern Europe distinguish between the rich and the poor Jew, between a Jew who presents an economic problem of one kind or another in his relation to society, and a Jew who does not. He is a Jew and that's that.

If humanity approached every question scientifically there would undoubtedly be much less difficulty in dealing with international questions; but it does not and we must take the situation as it is. The difficulty is not made by the facts but by what people believe them to be. The facts may be of one kind, and yet people's motives in action be quite different. An excellent example is provided by the last war. We know today that it was neither a dead Archduke nor the tearing up of the Belgian neutrality treaty which caused it. But all the same it was the murder and the torn up treaty which persuaded the peoples to fight. How many men would have volunteered to spend five years in the mud of France as a result of a careful exposé of the economic rivalry between Germany and England? No one, not even the manufacturers who actually lost or profited by that rivalry! But because of that

popular appeal there arose in a very short time an "instinctive" hatred of Germany or England, or whoever might be the particular enemy, and all members of the nation concerned were included in that "instinctive" feeling. It is, therefore, with "instincts" that we have largely to deal. Yet facts are of supreme importance. It is only by attempting, now that it is over, to estimate what were the real and underlying causes of the war, that we can hope to prevent its recurrence, in other words, prevent an occasion being given for a fresh outburst of "instinct." It is exactly the same with the Jewish problem. For though half-truths or even pure lies may cause that "instinctive" feeling, it is only education as to the actual facts which will cure it. In both there is the same sequence of events. A real cause exists. Popular imagination is caught by it, or by something presented by those whom the real cause affects. An "instinct" is created and, so far as action is concerned, the original cause is of no further importance and may be completely changed without altering the "instinct" which it originally created. In reality, these antipathies are not an "instinct" but a "complex"; and just as the psychologist in curing a complex is obliged to get down to the real roots of the trouble, whatever the patient's conscious belief as to those roots may be, so in curing any political situation we must get down to its actual causes.

Dislike of the Jew is now quite instinctive and unreflected to the majority of Europeans, whether

they be economically affected by them or not. They do not look for any particular reason why they should hate them. They may even recognise quite candidly that they have no special reason; but that only confirms them more rigidly in the idea that either it is an "instinct" or that there is some deep supernatural cause for it—or that the whole fault lies with the other fellow.

The essential task is, then, to get down to the roots of the "instinctive" anti-Semitism of today. These roots will be of two kinds. There will be the original causes of the popular outbursts which marked in the eleventh century the beginning of the long persecution of the Jews in Europe. In addition there will be the question as to how far these causes of popular indignation and time's accretions to them have a real foundation in the relations between Jewish and Christian society today. The fact that conditions have entirely changed since the eleventh century no more minimises the importance of this inquiry than the fact that the original inhibitions which have caused the complex may have disappeared long before the psychologist begins to handle the case. Moreover, old accusations are still brought up in moments of tenseness, and, even if forgotten, they are the fundamental cause of the "instinctive" dislike of the Jew.

The roots of the modern problem of the Jews in Europe go back, as has been said, to the eleventh century. It is true that the Jews were not par-

ticularly popular in the Roman Empire. But there are reasons for this which have nothing to do with their situation today. For this study the first stage is the position of the Jews as an organised and widespread community in different parts of Europe at the time of the first crusade. For it was in connection with that event that the first outburst of popular persecution took place, and from that time to this no century has passed without its massacres and its expulsions, and there is no break in the chain of events.

## CHAPTER III

### THE JEWISH COMMUNITY BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF PERSECUTION

To be able to form an estimate of the relative importance of external influences and inner nature in the evolution of the mediæval Jewish community into the Jewish people as we know them today, it is of some value to take a glance at some of the Jewish communities which have developed under different influences, and at the European community itself in the period which preceded the first crusade. We know something of the history of such communities in Arabia, Abyssinia, India, China, Babylon, and North Africa. In addition we know in considerable detail the life of the Jewish community in its original home in Palestine.

In Palestine the Jewish people were agriculturalists and shepherds. At first they were miserably poor and possessed practically none of the arts which form the basis of any civilised existence. It is of little value to study them in the period before they established the kingdom. Then when they had for the moment consolidated themselves against their hereditary enemies, the surrounding tribes and the Philistines, they began, under David, to

develop some kind of national life. Fortunately from this period on we have good records, and of particular value are the writings of the prophets, which begin in the eighth century. In addition there are the three law codes, the Code of Holiness, which dates in its present form from about the end of the monarchy, but which is a compilation of early laws; the Deuteronomic Code, which dates from the end of the seventh century; and the Priestly Code, which dates from the end of the exile and the period of the return under Ezra and Nehemiah. The evidence both of the prophets and of all of these codes entirely confirms the supposition that there was nothing which could be called a trading and commercial class existing among the Jews at this period of their independence. In the official records of the reign of Solomon,[1] and in the work of a later editor,[2] he is recorded to have possessed two trading fleets, one in the Mediterranean and the other in the Red Sea. But there is no further reference to any such fleets in the days of later kings; nor did the Israelites long possess access to the Red Sea ports. Even these fleets Solomon is said to have worked in co-operation with the trading king, Hiram of Tyre.

[1] 1 Kings ix. 26. And Solomon made a navy of ships . . . on the shore of the Red Sea. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon.

[2] 1 Kings x. 22. For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram.

Nor, in so far as we know the period which followed the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, was there any emergence of a trading class either among the Jews who were left in the country or among the exiles in Babylon. Those left were mostly agriculturalists and shepherds, and those who were taken to Babylon, and who had been of the better class in Palestine, were reduced to the same level or lower. The custom of the conquerors, which we may presume to have been followed in the case of the Jews in default of any evidence to the contrary, was to settle the exiles on the crown lands as peasants or to employ them as slaves in the building schemes of the capital.

If we turn to the documentary evidence of the law books and prophets we find this absence of a trading class amply confirmed. Apart from a poetic reference to the future in one of the discourses of Moses in the Book of Deuteronomy[1] the only reference is to the question of usury. In the Code of Holiness, which is based upon the earliest Code, usury is prohibited altogether.[2] In the Deuteronomic Code it is only allowed in

[1] Deut. xv. 6. And thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow, and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not rule over thee.

[2] Lev. xxv. 35. And if thy brother be waxen poor, and his hand fail with thee; then thou shalt uphold him: Take thou no usury of him or increase; but fear thy God: that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor give him thy victuals for increase. Compare Exod. xxii. 25.

dealing with foreigners.[1] This reference is of paramount importance for the later development of Talmudic doctrine on the subject and for the development of the Jewish communities in mediæval Europe. The principle that the Jew might lend upon usury to the foreigner was undoubtedly used by mediæval Jews to justify the most scandalous rates of interest. It is of importance also in considering the Church doctrine which based its prohibition of usury among Christians upon the conception that Christendom was the inheritor of the promises to Israel and that therefore this prohibition of usury now applied as between Christian and Christian. This, however, is all later history. What is important in considering the Jews at the time when these Codes were written is that in the whole mass of the five Books of the Law which constitute the Pentateuch or *Torah* these are the only references to any commercial occupation, although the legislation upon social life and relationships is extraordinarily complete. Every act is also related to particular religious duties; but the whole of it is based upon an agricultural community, and it is scarcely too much to

[1] Deut. xxiii. 19. Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of any thing that is lent upon usury: unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon usury: but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou puttest thine hand unto, in the land whither thou goest in to possess it.

say that a merchant could hardly find sufficient regulation as to his religious and social conduct to know what his duties were.

In the Prophets we have a collection of men who denounced with the utmost frankness every failing which they saw in their community. Their writings are contemporary documents; and in social standing they themselves vary from aristocrats like Isaiah and Zephaniah to simple peasants like Amos and Micah. In the period which they cover we have the life of the independent kingdoms, the life during the Babylonian exile, and that after the return to Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehemiah. Yet there is only one place where Jews and merchants are mentioned together and its implications seem to be metaphorical rather than literal.[1] Merchants are quite frequently referred to by the Prophets, but they were always foreigners.[2] In Palestine itself they were generally either Canaanites or Phœnicians. Of particular interest is the passage in which Ezekiel "speaks a parable unto the House of Israel" and compares their exile in Babylon with a

[1] Hosea xii. 7:

> He is a trafficker (marg. Canaanite)
> The balances of deceit are in his hand:
> He loveth to oppress.
> And Ephraim said, Surely I am become rich,
> I have found me wealth:
> In all my labours they shall find in me none
> iniquity that were sin.

[2] *E.g.* Isa. xxiii. 8; Zeph. i. 11; Nahum iii. 16; Ezek. 27 *passim*; Isa. xlvii. 15.

great eagle which cropped off " the topmost of the young twigs of Lebanon and carried it into a land of traffic; and set it in a city of merchants." [1]

It is quite clear from the foregoing quotations from the Law and Prophets that their commercial aptitudes came to the Jews after their dispersion. We shall find, however, that it was not developed automatically even then; and that in those countries in which, apart from the vicissitudes of war, the Jews lived a stable life and were able to possess landed property, they continued to be a people of shepherds, agriculturalists, or artisans, depending upon the particular circumstances.

The greatest of the Jewish communities outside Palestine was Babylon, which retained the premier place in the eyes of all Jews until its collapse in the eleventh century. Whereas the communities of Europe were always minorities living among the nations, without possessing any special area of their own, the Jews of Babylon were settled in a single compact region between the Tigris and Euphrates in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. Here they lived a practically independent existence under their own prince, the " Prince of Captivity " who was of the House of David, and enjoyed their own laws and communal organisation. " The occupations followed by the Babylonian Jews were agriculture, trades of all descriptions, and what is, of course, natural in a country dependent on its canals for irrigation, the digging and cleaning of these arti-

[1] Ezek. xvii. 1-5, the land is Babylonia, the city Babylon.

ficial waterways; they also bred cattle, carried on commerce, undertook voyages, and cultivated certain of the fine arts." [1]

In Arabia there had been Jewish settlements since very early times. Some of them traced their origin to the Rechabites, others to the period of captivity. There also they lived in independent communities, or rather tribes, distinguished from their neighbours, the Arabs, only by their Jewish religion. The strongest of these Jewish tribes were the Kingdoms of Chaibar, Yathrib, and Himyara. Of these Jewish States Grætz says: "Here they were not repulsed from the paths of honour, nor excluded from the privileges of the State, but they were allowed to develop openly their powers in the midst of a free, simple, and talented people, and to show their manly courage; Here they were permitted to struggle for the prizes of glory and to meet their antagonists with the sword in their practised hand. Instead of bearing the yoke, the Jews were not infrequently the leaders of Arabian tribes. Their intellectual superiority constituted them a power, and they concluded offensive and defensive alliances, and carried on feuds. Besides the sword and the lance, however, they handled the ploughshare and the lyre, and gradually became the teachers of the Arabian nation. The history of the Jews of Arabia in the century which precedes Mohammed's appearance, and during the period of his activity, forms a glorious page in the annals of

[1] Graetz, Vol. II, p. 513.

the Jews."[1] The prosperity of the Arabian Jews was destroyed by the rise of Islam, for though Mohammed learned a great deal from the Jews (who possessed at that time Medina), the development of his doctrine, particularly as it affected women, antagonised them, and he became their greatest enemy. Jews have always continued to live in Arabia but they have ceased to be independent communities.

The history of the Jews in Abyssinia is shrouded in mystery. It is said by some that the Abyssinians, or Ethiopians, adopted a form of the Jewish religion even before the famous visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. It is fairly certain that their religion was Judaism after that visit and that it continued to be so until the arrival of Christian missionaries in the fourth century. On the conversion of the king (who claimed to be a descendant of Solomon) and the bulk of the population, the Jews and those who retained the Jewish religion formed a semi-independent kingdom in the north-east of the country which survived until the time of an adventurer Amdo in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Unfortunately the Jewish king supported his pretensions to the Abyssinian throne, and upon his failure, the Jewish kingdom was wiped out. This was in 1617 after the kingdom had survived for thirteen hundred years. The occupations of these Abyssinian Jews are treated in various writers who have been collected by Mendelssohn

[1] Graetz, Vol. III, p. 54.

in his work on the Jews in Africa.[1] "Ludolphus[2] remarks that the Jews obtain their livelihood by carpentry and weaving. Basnage[3] adds to these occupations those of the manufacture of woollen fabrics and iron work. Jost[4] and others mention their pottery work; and Bruce[5] mentions the crops and cattle raised by the Jews at the end of the sixteenth century, and says that they were 'a frugal and economical people.' But what is especially noteworthy and significant is that one hears of neither traders nor usurers. Here in a country densely populated by Jews in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and under their own government, they appear to have confined themselves, when at peace, to artisan occupations and farming and agricultural pursuits, thus showing that under their own rulers, and under suitable conditions, their occupations differed widely from those in which they engaged in other parts of the world, under other conditions." The Rev. H. A. Stern,[6] who visited the country in the middle of the nineteenth century, states that they entirely repudiated commerce as an occupation, as being contrary to the Mosaic religion. He adds that he found them "exemplary in their morals, cleanly in their habits, and devout in their belief."

[1] *The Jews of Africa*, by Sidney Mendelssohn, p. 25.
[2] *Nouvelle Histoire d'Abyssinie ou d'Ethiopie*, 1684.
[3] *History of the Jews*, 1708.
[4] *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 1820.
[5] *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 1790.
[6] *Wanderings Among the Falashas in Abyssinia*, 1862.

## BEFORE OUTBREAK OF PERSECUTION

On the west coast of India there are two ancient Jewish settlements, in the Bombay Presidency that of the Beni Israel; and further to the south, on the coast of Malabar, that of the white and black Jews of Cochin. The history of these two settlements differs considerably, and neither seems to have heard of the other until the eleventh century. The Beni Israel believe that they came to India before the destruction of the Temple. Their name among the people is the *Saturday Oil Men*, and it was this curious title which attracted the attention of a Jewish traveller from Cochin, David Rahabi, who, on making inquiries, discovered that they were Jews. The manufacture and sale of oil seems to have been their principal occupation. In addition there were soldiers. Mendelssohn says of them,[1] "One of the professions to which the Beni Israel devoted themselves in relatively large numbers was that of the army. In the forces of the East India Company entire regiments were composed of Beni Israel, and many of their officers and men displayed surpassing valour, which was duly recognised, in the native wars of the earlier half of the nineteenth century. These special regiments were, however, afterwards disbanded as a part of the Government's general policy, and service in mixed regiments seems to have had less attraction for the Beni Israel, whose numbers in the army subsequently diminished." Another writer, Rebecca Reubens, particularly remarks that they have never taken to

[1] *The Jews of Asia*, p. 125.

commerce and adds quaintly that no explanation of this fact has hitherto been forthcoming. The fact seems to be no longer true, as a Jewish writer who visited them in the middle of the nineteenth century, stated that he had found them principally occupying themselves with trade and agriculture, and they have certainly provided the world with the family of Sassoon.

The other Indian settlement, that of Cochin, appears to have originated with Jews who came there as traders, at a period after the general dispersion. They settled, however, in the country and received a charter from the king, whose terms show that they had then developed the occupations of a settled community. The settlement was added to by refugees from the Spanish expulsion, so that the trading element never lost its importance among them. A Dutch writer,[1] Stavorinus, states that "The greater part of the Jewish population was engaged in commerce, wholesale and retail. Some of them were evidently in a large way of business and bought whole cargoes of goods. One of them had drawn most of the Cochin trade into his own hands."

In China there is also a Jewish settlement in the city of Kai-Fung-Foo in the province of Honan, of which we first hear from a Jesuit missionary, Ricci, in the sixteenth century. From the fact that they had never heard of the crucifixion they would appear to have left Palestine before the destruction

[1] *Voyages to the East Indies*, quoted in *Jews of Asia*.

of the Temple. The community had practically vanished by the middle of the nineteenth century, having dwindled to a few peasants and shopkeepers; but they also seem to have been in the period of their fullest development an autonomous community exercising all the different professions and living in perfect harmony with their neighbours. In fact, their disappearance was due to their steady assimilation by the Chinese.

All along the north coast of Africa, from Alexandria to Morocco, we find Jewish settlements, many of which date back more than two thousand years. In these settlements we find great differences in the wealth, standing and occupations of the Jews. As they were so near Europe they were much more influenced by the development of European Jewry than were the Jews of India, Arabia, or China. During the period of the Moorish kingdom in Spain, North Africa was practically a part of Europe, and many Jews migrated from one side of the Straits of Gibraltar to the other. On the whole, the Jews were better treated by the Moslems than by the Christians, though there were notable exceptions such as the fanatical Almohades who conquered the whole of North Africa in the twelfth century. These latter compelled a great many Jews to adopt the Mohammedan religion. This was less difficult for them than to adopt Christianity, in that all that they were required to do was to recognise Mohammed as a prophet, and this done, they could continue to observe their Jewish traditions. In later centuries

also, Islam became much less tolerant, and the story of the North African Jews is one of steady decline under the burden of increasing intolerance and financial extortion. The experience of Christians under the rule of Islam, except where powerfully protected by European Powers, is, however, precisely similar. It was, for example, not particularly advantageous to be an Armenian.

The oldest of the settlements is that of Alexandria, where at one time there were more than a hundred thousand Jews. It was always an urban community, in which the Jews were traders, artisans, and played an important part in State finance. The ruler nearly always had Jews as his finance ministers, and employed them in the farming of the taxes. Alexandria was, in addition, a great intellectual centre, the home of two of the greatest of Jewish philosophers, Philo and Maimonides. The cities of the coast, such as Kairuan, Oran, Constantine, had also a Jewish population consisting principally of merchants and of skilled artisans. The Jewish goldsmiths were particularly famous. In the hinterland there were many Jewish settlements of a different character. In particular, in the Djebel-Nefoussi there was a number of Jewish villages where, in addition to being artisans, they were also cattle raisers and agriculturalists. The increasing intolerance of Islam destroyed most of these rural settlements of Tunisia, and the Jews declined into a miserable urban proletariat with a few rich men who, being extortionately taxed by the authorities,

were extortionate in their dealings with others. In Morocco in early days the life of the Jews bore considerable resemblance to that of their brethren in Arabia. At the time of the Arab invasion in 667, the leading general on the Berber side was the Jewish princess of a Jewish tribe. They retained their own separate organisation as a community until the time of the Almohades and regained it some centuries later. The character of the Jewish population in Morocco was considerably modified by the influx of Spanish and Portuguese into the country, who brought a whole class of skilled craftsmen and artisans. They also made a considerable difference to the level of civilisation of the country as a whole. In later centuries they shared the decline and persecution of the Jews in the rest of North Africa.

From this survey of Jews in many countries, living under many different conditions, we see that the narrowness which has characterised the life of the European Jew cannot be called specifically Jewish. The centres in which the primary emphasis was upon trade were centres specially influenced by the migration of European Jews. Where Jewish life grew up independent of the events which befell their European brethren in the centuries following their dispersion into Europe, the main emphasis is upon pastoral and agricultural pursuits and upon skilled craftsmanship.

Before turning to the situation of the Jews in Europe it is worth remarking that the Jews, when

completely emancipated, show a tendency to broaden out again into occupations to which they have long been strangers. There are, for example, in America, 75,000 Jewish families cultivating over a million acres of land. In addition there are Jewish market gardeners and Jews engaged in poultry farming and dairying in various States throughout the Union. The success of these farmers has been found to depend almost entirely upon the age at which they begin. Adult immigrants are not a great success, but those who have had training in agriculture in their boyhood have proved as competent as any other farming stock.

The Jews of Europe differ in one very important point from the majority of those Jewish communities which we have just been considering. They never formed a separate community by themselves, but were always part of a larger community. Thus, from the earliest times of their European history they had to fulfil a particular function in the general society and were not able to develop the many-sided life which characterised their existence elsewhere. The fact that in general they were unable to own land, and that they were linked together by ties of relationship in many different countries drew them naturally into intellectual professions and commerce. The Christian prohibition of usury also placed the greater part of this profession in the hands of the Jews.

Of the early periods we know little. In the sixth century " the only point of interest is the manner

in which the Jews settled in the European States, and lived unmolested and peacefully in friendly intercourse with their neighbours, until Christianity gradually confined them and finally cut off the very breath of their life. In the Byzantine Empire, in Ostrogothic Italy, in Frankish and Burgundian Gaul, in Vizigothic Spain, everywhere we are confronted with the same phenomena. The people, even the barons and the princes, are entirely devoid of all intolerance, feel no antipathy against the Jews, and associate with them without prejudice; the higher clergy, however, discover in the prosperity and comfort of the Jews, an encroachment on Christendom. They desire to verify entirely the curse which the founder of Christianity is said to have pronounced on the Jewish nation, and every anti-Jewish, narrow-minded thought which a father of the Church utters against them, must be literally fulfilled by embittering their existence."[1] The period which followed the fifth century was indeed a difficult one, and it was not until the emergence of the Empire of Charlemagne that they again achieved security. The Jews shared with other subjects the care of that astonishing emperor, who not only brought a Jewish rabbi from the south of France to Germany to encourage scholarship among the Jews of the Rhine, but also requested Harun al Raschid to send him a learned Jew from Babylon for the benefit of the Jewish congregation of Narbonne. He allowed the Jews full liberty of

[1] Graetz, Vol. III, p. 25.

movement throughout his empire and freedom to engage in any occupation which did not involve the possession of land. He employed Jews about the court in various functions; and only restricted the profit which they might make upon wine and corn, for he did not think it right that the people's food should be sold for profit. His son Louis (814–840) extended their privileges and took them under his special protection. They were allowed to employ Christian workmen, and to possess slaves whom the clergy were forbidden to baptise. They were freed from judicial torture, and had their own special officer to watch over their rights. They were also exempted from feudal military service.

Similar privileges were given to Jews in other countries in the beginning of the thirteenth century, charters were given to them individually by King John in England, which were confirmed by Henry I; "the Jews were given freedom of movement with their goods in the country, and excused from all customs, tolls, etc., just as the king's goods were. They were given permission to reside wherever they wished. They might claim redress if molested and hold land in pledge until redeemed. They were permitted to buy whatever was brought to them, excepting Church property and crimson cloth, to sell their pledges after holding them a year and a day, to be tried by their peers, and to be sworn on the Pentateuch. A Jew's oath was considered valid against the oath of twelve Christians."[1] With

[1] Hyamson, *The Jews in England*, p. 8.

these two charters of western Europe it is interesting to compare that of Boleslav of Kalish in 1264, confirmed by Casimir the Great in 1344.[1] This charter has more to say upon their civic position than upon their occupations, though these latter were only limited by their inability to possess land. Their interests in law-suits were specially protected and the testimony of a Christian against them could only be taken if confirmed by a Jew. Jewish judges were allowed to try cases between Jew and Jew, and one of the nobility was designated as a special *judex judaeorum*. This charter also forbade the accusation of ritual murder being raised against them in view of the fact that papal bulls had declared it to be groundless.

This protection by the kings was always challenged by the clergy, with the result that the Jews came to be considered as specially enjoying royal protection, and as being in some sort his slaves. This was further emphasised by the fact that in most cases Jews could only be tried in the royal courts. While assuring them a certain measure of protection, this peculiar position had disastrous results in that it deprived them of the protection of common law when this latter came to be developed, and made their position depend upon the whim of the sovereign. In 1306 the Emperor claimed from Philip le Bel all the money which he extracted from the Jews in France on the ground that all the Jews

[1] Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, Vol. I, pp. 45 and 51.

were his personal property as heir of the Roman Emperors. Philip replied by expelling all the Jews from France across his eastern frontier into the Empire, but he kept their property. Their position as *servi camerae* lasted in parts of Germany until the eighteenth century.

The immediate cause of the first popular attack upon them was the appeal to the crusaders: "Will you offer your lives for the recovery of the holy places, and leave in peace those who were actually responsible for the death of the Saviour?" Some crusaders plundered impartially any whom they met, whether Christian or Jew, and others in their zeal for the Christian religion baptised the Jews instead of massacring them, but as time went on their hatred was more and more concentrated exclusively upon the Jews and upon death rather than conversion.

If the crusades were the occasion, they were not the real cause of these massacres. The causes were threefold: the hostility of the Church, the separate organisation of the Jews, and their wealth; a religious, a social and an economic reason. Of the three the religious seems in the beginning to have been the most important, in spite of the tendency of modern scholarship to refer everything ultimately to the stomach.

If the Jews had been living in peace for some centuries it was not by the goodwill of the Church that this was so. Since the time when she had become powerful in the days of Constantine, she

had never varied in her hostility. The liberties which the Jews enjoyed were almost all in defiance of the decrees of innumerable Church Councils and of particular bishops. Great saints in the Christian calendar, such as Jerome, Ambrose, and Cyril of Alexandria, had been fervent Jew-haters, and the latter was largely responsible for a terrible massacre in his city. In France and Spain every Council which met reaffirmed the old exclusions of the Jews from Christian society or added new restrictions. In particular, Jews were not to own Christian slaves or Christian nurses, neither were they to act as nurses to Christian children. Jews were not to appear in the streets during Easter, nor were Christians to frequent Jewish banquets. Wherever the Church could make its voice heard, that voice was against the Jews; and whatever part be given to their wealth or exclusiveness, this opposition of the Church remains the most obvious cause of their misery in mediæval Europe. The conflict between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities was one of the most prominent factors of the Middle Ages, and the victory of the latter was everywhere accompanied by increased restrictions upon the Jews.

The second cause of the hostility was the exclusiveness of the Jewish communities. This is stated as a fact, not as an accusation. They were not the only exclusive community of their time. The Church already, and the Jews later, possessed their own communal organisation and quasi-independence. But with the Jews this independence

possessed special characteristics which were a source of danger to the Jews themselves. The most important was their religion. For common worship ten adult men are required, and this meant that Jews were not likely to be found in groups of less than forty or fifty people. Religious toleration is not to be expected in the kind of society of which mediæval Europe was made up, and the strangeness of their religious customs, the fact that they used Saturday as a day of rest, and their foreign appearance, made it possible for popular superstition to be easily moved against them. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico:* the early Christians had themselves experienced the same distrust when they were a persecuted minority. Explicit accusations belong to a later date, to a period when there were Christians who knew Hebrew, and when the centuries of tragedy through which they were to pass had weakened Jewish self-control and produced a number of converted Jews who were prepared to purchase their own security by denouncing their co-religionists. Yet even if there was nothing explicit against them in the early days and if they were inoffensive personally, yet they were mysterious to the mediæval peasant and the city rabble. Their superior knowledge obviously suggested magic, and there must have been something wrong in the fact that they were not baptised like decent Christians. In the first attacks the rabble was quite satisfied with baptising the Jews, for they felt that so they had made them normal members of society.

## BEFORE OUTBREAK OF PERSECUTION

Before the period of persecutions there is little evidence that the seclusion in which they lived had a positive and offensive side. It was for the purpose of the practice of their religion with its ritual prescriptions, and perhaps to facilitate their trade; it was certainly not to keep them from contacts with their Christian neighbours. This is most conclusively proved by the series of Church enactments forbidding Christians to have social, and as far as possible business, contacts with the Jews. The formal prohibition of Christian priests attending Jewish banquets shows both that Jews were prepared to invite them and that the Christian would normally accept the invitation. At the same time there must have been something disagreeable to the Christian in the refusal of the Jew to accept the return of his hospitality. It suggested a feeling of superiority which is galling at any time, and particularly so with people who are obviously (from the standpoint of the mediæval Christian) completely wrong about their religion.

Their religious strangeness became serious when Christians tended to become converted to Judaism as a result of these contacts, and the Jews might almost be accused of tactlessness in accepting the conversion and circumcision of Bishop Bodo, the favourite bishop of Louis, the son of Charlemagne. It was, however, more often Christian servants in the service of Jews who became converted. This was a terrible thing to the mediæval mind, since to desert the true faith was to lose the chances of

eternal life; and what that meant we can study over the portals of most of the mediæval cathedrals. A man who deliberately deprived a poor girl or boy of his chance of salvation and made certain for him the tortures of the Damned must have seemed a peculiarly dangerous individual. It was easy for the mistrust which existed to be exploited by fanatics, and to turn to a hate which would believe anything, however monstrous, of the object of its detestation.

The third motive which made possible these attacks was avarice. Even if not yet exclusively confined to financial occupations, yet in so far as gold or silver was concerned they were already the richest class in the community. Mediæval wealth consisted more in the possession of land or live stock, or in the knowledge of a skilled trade, than in the possession of money, and in ordinary economy the place of money was a small one. Some Jews were already moneylenders, as is shown by the fact that the Pope kindly released all those who consented to take part in the second crusade from their obligation to pay their debts to the Jews. That they charged an excessive rate of interest is an accusation frequently made against them and probably frequently true. But the rate of interest charged must depend upon the value of the security offered, and this was in most cases very slight. The rate permitted in mediæval Spain was 20 per cent. which is actually lower than the rate charged for commercial loans in Rumania today. In England and France the rate was much higher,

but it was fixed not by the Jews but by the King, who took 50 per cent. of the receipts.[1] In addition to the possession by the Jews of easily plunderable wealth was the fact, prejudicial to their popularity, that they were frequently farmers of the taxes and otherwise engaged in the collection of revenue. The normal system did not fix the amount of the individual contribution and left unfortunate possibilities to the tax farmer of exploiting the weak—possibilities made use of as often by Gentiles as by Jews. Their use as tax collectors was natural, not only because of their commercial experience but because they were often the only people able to give adequate guarantees to the King for the payments to be made to the Royal Exchequer. Even their Most Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, copying many of their predecessors, employed a Jewish minister of the exchequer because of the chaos to which Christian ministers had reduced their finances.

We have seen how the Jew, under normal conditions develops a community life very similar to that of other peoples, but that, from the beginning, in Europe he was always part of a larger community which limited the occupations open to him. It was the prohibition to own land which had the most profound effects upon his character, effects which will be more closely studied in the later chapters of this book. It is in the characteristics developed by the Jews as an isolated urban and unsettled

[1] For a fuller treatment of usury see Chapter V.

population that we shall find the Jewish responsibility for later anti-Semitism; but it was the hostility of the Church which perpetuated their isolation and created the instinctive anti-Semitism from which we are still suffering.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN ANTI-SEMITISM

However important economic and political causes may become later, for the Middle Ages the real base of anti-Semitism lies in the intolerance and hostility of the mediæval Church. Occasional outbursts against the Jews there might have been in any case without ecclesiastical prompting, for it was a lawless period, but the steady and sustained hatred which marks the relation, or rather separation, between Christians and Jews from the eleventh century onwards was the work of the clergy alone. This can be seen in the way in which each charter granted by the secular authorities was immediately followed by ecclesiastical protest. As early as the ninth century the good treatment accorded to the Jews by Louis, the son of Charlemagne, met with furious attacks on the part of Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, who protested continuously against this favourable treatment granted to the enemies of Christ. Finding that his personal protest was of no avail, he summoned a Council at Lyons in 829, and repeated again all the canonical disabilities under which Jews ought to labour in the dominions of a Christian king. Louis refused to listen to the

Council; and his successor Charles the Bald, who continued to show them favour, was similarly attacked by Arnold, the successor of Agobard, who also summoned a Council at Meaux in 849, which recorded its fervent protest against the King's action. Charles dissolved the Council. At the same time the Bishop of Béziers personally encouraged his congregation to throw stones at the Jews and made Jew-baiting a regular part of the Easter celebration.

The action of Boleslav the Pious in granting a charter to the Jews in 1264 was followed in 1266 by the Church Council of Breslau, convened by the papal legate Guido, which insisted upon a rigid separation between Jews and Christians. "In view of the fact," runs Clause 12, "that Poland is a new plantation on the soil of Christianity, there is reason to fear that her Christian population will fall an easy prey to the influence of the superstitions and evil habits of the Jews living among them, the more so as the Christian religion took root in the hearts of the faithful of these countries at a later date and in a more feeble manner. For this reason we most strictly enjoin that the Jews residing in the diocese of Gnesen [the oldest Polish diocese] shall not live side by side with the Christians, but shall live apart, in houses adjoining each other, or connected with one another, in some section of the city or village. The section inhabited by Jews shall be separated from the general dwelling place of the Christians by a hedge, wall, or ditch."[1] In addition, the

[1] Quoted in Dubnow, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 48.

Council instituted a special Jewish dress, ordered Jews to lock themselves up when Church processions passed their doors, and forbade Christians under pain of excommunication to have any social dealings whatever with them, or to buy eatables from them, in case they might be poisoned. These regulations were confirmed again by the Council of Buda (Ofen) in 1279.

Precisely the same thing happened in England. The charters granted to individual Jews in the twelfth century were replaced in 1201 by a general charter which, though ignored by John, was confirmed by Henry III. Immediately the Church protested, and at the Synod of Oxford in 1222, Stephen Langton decreed precisely similar enactments to those of his episcopal brother of Gnesen. In addition, he insisted upon the Jews making all the usual offerings and paying the usual tithes to the churches of the parishes in which they lived. These pious enactments were immediately cancelled by royal order. In amusing contrast to the Polish episcopal fear of the Christians being poisoned, Henry particularly enacted that any Christian who refused to sell Jews food or other provisions would be immediately punished in the King's court "any spiritual inhibition notwithstanding." [1]

At the same period Hungary was going through the same experience. The kingdom was only half Christian and contained a considerable Jewish and Mohammedan population, who were treated equally

[1] Hyamson, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 53.

by the King, Andreas. Pope Gregory IX ordered the Archbishop of Gran to see that both Jews and Mohammedans were excluded from public office. When the King did not immediately carry out these instructions he was excommunicated by the Archbishop. Similar incidents could be quoted from every part of Europe to show that it was on the grounds of their religion and not of their pernicious occupation that the Jews were excluded from the social life and charity of the time.

Shortly after the second crusade, the position of the Jews was defined by an Œcumenical Council of the Church, the Third Lateran Council under Alexander III, in 1179. Contrary to the wish of some of the bishops, no new restrictions were introduced, but on the other hand, for the first time, special attention was devoted to defining true Christian conduct in relation to the Jews. All attempts at compulsory baptism were forbidden, and Jews were neither to be arrested without proper warrant nor to be disturbed at their festivals. These prohibitions were repeated by Innocent III in 1200, when the Jews appealed to him for protection against the bands of crusaders who were perpetually passing through the countryside. Innocent was, however, no particular friend of theirs. This measure of protection was only given because, as he explained, the complete destruction of the Jews would prevent any of them being left to be converted, whereas Holy Scripture distinctly states that the conversion of the Jews is necessary to the

fulfilment of Christianity and the second coming of Christ. His real attitude is seen in his letters to different sovereigns whom he suspected of being too lenient to them. He wrote to Philip Augustus, no enthusiastic judeophile himself, to reproach him for allowing the Jews to come into possession of Church property through the nonpayment of loans made to the clergy, and even for allowing a synagogue at Sens to be built on a higher elevation than the local church. He repeats the accusation that the Jews secretly murder Christians, and urges Philip to use every means to repress them.

A similar letter was sent by him to the King of Castile, whose particular crime was that he would not allow the Jews to be deprived of their slaves by the priests secretly baptising them, and that he did not insist upon Jews and Mohammedans paying tithes to the Church. Even stronger was his letter to the Count of Nevers, since this ruler was suspected also of being favourable to the Albigensian heretics (who are said to have been much influenced by Judaism). A section of the letter is worth quoting: "The Jews, like the fratricide Cain, are doomed to wander about the earth as fugitives and vagabonds, and their faces must be covered with insult. They are under no circumstances to be protected by Christian princes, but, on the contrary, to be condemned to serfdom. It is, therefore, discreditable for Christian princes to receive Jews into their towns and villages, and to employ them as usurers in order to extort money from Christians.

They arrest Christians who are in debt to Jews, and allow the Jews to distrain Christian castles and villages; and, what is the very root of the evil, the Church in this manner loses its tithes." [1]

In 1209 the papal legate at Avignon deprived the Jews in the papal States of all their protection and privileges. A still severer blow was to fall upon them from Innocent in 1215, in the publication of the canonical decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council. By these canons the Jews were forbidden to extort a high rate of usury; baptised Jews were forbidden to retain Jewish customs; Jews were forbidden to appear in the streets at Easter; and they were ordered to pay a special tax to the Church yearly at that season; finally, no Christian king was to bestow any public office upon a Jew. Apart from the repetition of old canonical laws this Council marks a new step in being the first general Council which referred to the Jewish connection with usury. The severest blow of all, however, and one which was to leave a permanent mark upon the people, was the decree enjoining upon all Jews the wearing of a distinguishing dress. This rule had been enforced by the fanatical Mohammedans of Morocco some years previously, but it now appeared for the first time in Christian Europe. Though it was resisted everywhere, and in some places with a certain temporary success, in the end, every Jew was branded with this mark which exposed him to the mercy of every hostile mob. But " yet worse

[1] Graetz, Vol. III, p. 516.

than this outward dishonour was the influence of the mark on the Jews themselves. They became more and more accustomed to their ignominious position and lost all feeling of self-respect or esteem. They neglected their outward appearance because they had to remain a despised, dishonoured race, who, even in the remote future, could not lay claim to honour. They became more and more careless of their speech, because they could not step beyond their limited circle, and in their own midst they could make themselves understood by means of a jargon. They lost all taste and sense of beauty, and to some extent became as despicable as their enemies desired. So much of their manly bearing and courage left them that a child could cause them annoyance. The punishment which Isaiah prophesied should overtake the House of Jacob was fulfilled to the letter: "you will speak humbly from the ground, and from the dust shall proceed your word." [1]

In eastern Europe, particularly in Poland, they were still allowed many privileges. But little by little, as the Church secured her hold over the secular authorities, the provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council were rigorously enforced, and all Jews reduced to the same condition of degradation. But this year 1215 had yet other calamities in store for the Jews; for it saw the creation of the Dominican Order. This Order devoted itself especially to the maintenance of orthodoxy within

[1] Graetz, Vol. III, p. 529.

the Catholic Church. It produced the greatest theologians of the Middle Ages, including Thomas Aquinas, and the chief inquisitors, including Torquemada. It also provided doctors who filled most of the university chairs and were largely responsible for the condemnation of the Talmud, and for such controversies as that between Reuchlin and Hoogstraaten, the Dominican Abbot of Cologne, over the pernicious nature of the Jewish religion. Until the rise of the Jesuits the Dominicans were to be the bitterest enemies of the Jews.

As if satisfied with these two measures, the papacy itself was, for more than two centuries, kindly disposed towards them. But it was too late for this change of attitude to have any effect upon their relations with the local clergy, who continued and even increased their hostility. The most striking example of this impotence is the inability of the papacy to prevent the ritual murder accusation being raised against the Jews. This accusation declared the Jews to be guilty of using the blood of Christians for the Passover rites and for certain medicinal purposes, and alleged that such murders were not committed by individual Jews but by the direct order and authority of the community as a whole. The first accusation took place in the twelfth century and already in 1247 in connection with a case at Valreas in Vaucluse in the papal States, Pope Innocent IV issued a Bull expressly forbidding such an accusation to be made and exonerating the Jews from it. "Although the Holy Scriptures say

'Thou shalt not kill' and forbids them to touch anything dead at their Passover festivals, they are falsely accused of dividing among themselves, precisely at the Passover festival, the heart of a murdered boy. And they are malevolently charged with murder, whenever a dead boy is found anywhere. . . . We do not tolerate that the Jews should be further unduly molested on account of these or similar points."[1] Even more explicit is a Bull of the same Pope six years later: "They are not to be accused of using human blood in their ritual, since in the Old Testament it is laid down that no blood, let alone human blood, shall be used at all; and since in many cases many Jews have been killed on account of this suspicion, we absolutely forbid such action by these present letters."[2]

As this accusation was frequently based upon the assertion that such conduct was expressly enjoined in the Talmud, it is worth quoting the passage which is supposed to provide the evidence: "A doctrinal tradition says: 'If anyone has died and leaves a little son to his mother, and the father's heirs say: let him be brought up with us—and the mother says, my son shall be brought up with me—he is left with his mother and not with anyone who might inherit from him, for (it once happened that) he was murdered on the day before the

[1] *The Jew and Human Sacrifice*, by Hermann Strack, pp. 179, 253, 254.
[2] *Idem.*

Easter festival.' "[1] The meaning of the passage is the following. It is part of a discussion of the position of the heir, and whether, if he is a minor, he is to be left with his mother or with his older brothers. The rabbi suggests that he should be left with the mother because the heirs would have a motive in his death, *i.e.* the increase of their portion of the inheritance; and to enforce the point he quotes a case in which the heirs did actually murder their younger brother. The passage has been translated as though it was the approved procedure for an heir to murder his younger brother upon the eve of the Passover, and jumps from that to the conclusion that if it was correct to murder a Jew how much more meritorious would it be to murder a Gentile.

The old Bull of Alexander III enforcing Christian behaviour towards the Jews, which was itself based upon Bulls of Calixtus II and Eugenius III was reissued fifteen times during the mediæval period. Other Bulls of similar tenour were issued from time to time to deal with special circumstances. In particular Clement VI attempted to stop the massacres of the Jews at the time of the Black Death by specifically denying the charge made against them of poisoning the wells. Yet in so far as the canonical prohibitions of close relationship between Jew and Christian were concerned, the popes were not disposed to make changes in favour of the Jews. They were also particularly susceptible to allega-

[1] For a full treatment of the passage see Strack, p. 162.

tions that the Talmud and other Jewish writings contained matter hostile to Christianity; and were easily persuaded to order the destruction of all Jewish books. The first destruction of this kind took place at Paris under Innocent IV, and led to the rapid decline of the flourishing rabbinic school of that city. In fact, this destruction of their literature contributed not a little to their degradation during this period.

In 1431 this attitude of somewhat uncertain benevolence changed to definite hostility through fear of the spread of heresy, with which the Jews were thought to be concerned, and under the influence of the rising power of the Inquisition in the hands of the Dominicans. It was reflected in the decisions of the Council of Basle in this year, which in addition to re-enacting the old canonical restrictions added exclusion from the universities, and two new measures, the enforcement of the ghetto and the institution of conversional sermons wherever there was a sufficient Jewish population.

Ghettos, in the sense of special Jewish quarters, existed from very early times. That of Prague is said to go back to the tenth century. After the massacres in the Rhineland at the end of the eleventh century, the Jews were allowed, as a special privilege, to fortify and fence off their own dwellings against the attacks of the mob. That the Jews should live together was natural in view of the ritual side of their community life; nor was there anything surprising in a mediæval town in this

concentration into one quarter of a special section of the community. Most of the trades were concentrated in the same way. Such facts are preserved in the old street names of the cities of Europe, for example, Lombard Street, Bread Street, Grand Mézel (the butchery), Rue des Chaudronniers, and so on. But the Jewish ghetto came to be much more than this. Enforced by ecclesiastical action, it was definitely meant to separate the Jews from the social life of the Christians. The ghettos were closed at dusk by gates, and no Jews were allowed to live outside them. Thus the number of Jews allowed to settle in a city was automatically restricted by the number of houses in the ghetto. In Frankfurt five hundred families were allowed, and they were only permitted twelve marriages a year. The latest ghetto to survive in Europe was that of Rome itself, which was only opened when Rome became the capital of the Italian kingdom.

The conversional sermon[1] was no new idea. It was a sermon which took place either annually or at the chief Christian festivals, and which all the Jews were compelled to attend under pain of expulsion. They were generally given by Dominicans and were devoted to proving from the Old Testament the errors of the Jews and the Messianic claims of Jesus. In addition to these sermons, some centres, such as London, before the expulsion in 1290, maintained a *domus conversorum* for Jewish converts. Needless to say, the Jews were required

[1] Cf. Browning, *Holy Cross Day*.

to pay for the preacher and also for the upkeep of any Jewish convert, or for a *domus* if such existed. Sometimes instead of a sermon a disputation was arranged between Christian theologians and Jewish rabbis, though the Jews were naturally not allowed to win the disputation, and a report was always published showing how conclusively they had been beaten. One such disputation in Spain, where the Jewish disputant was the famous Rabbi Nachmani, caused considerable difficulties to the Church through the obvious victory of the Jew. Very frequently converted Jews were used in these disputations owing to their knowledge of the Hebrew scriptures and, it must be admitted, their ingenuity in perverting them.

In 1447 all the privileges enjoyed by the Jews in papal States were abolished, and John of Capistrano was appointed Inquisitor General of the Jews. So far as Italy itself was concerned, his mission was a complete failure, and the threat to burn Jews, even in the papal States, provoked such popular indignation that both John and his coadjutor Bernardinus of Feltre were obliged to abandon their intention. This is particularly interesting as, if the mediæval hatred of the Jews were really economic, one would expect to find it more developed in commercial communities such as the Italian, where the chance of rivalry was much greater. John of Capistrano had more success in his visit to Germany, Bavaria, Silesia, Moravia, Austria, and Poland. Wherever he went he compelled the abolition of any privileges

which the Jews had thus far enjoyed. In Wurzburg, for example, they had just been given full citizenship by the Prince Bishop, with the unanimous consent of his Chapter. John of Capistrano compelled the Bishop to expel them from the city altogether. Similar action accompanied his visit to Casimir the Great in Krakow. That king had just confirmed the charter of Boleslav and given certain additional privileges to the Jews. By skilful political intrigue Capistrano compelled the king to withdraw it. It is in campaigns such as these that one sees the ecclesiastical character of the persecution. It would not have been necessary to obtain advice and encouragement from an Italian inquisitor if it had been a local economic question which was at stake.

Of similar character was the Spanish persecution started by Ferdinand de Martinez in Seville, which spread throughout the peninsula, leading everywhere to massacres and to an enormous number of conversions. Twenty years later, in 1408, another monk, Vincent Ferrer, founder of the Order of the Flagellants, inaugurated a still severer persecution, as a result of which he claimed fifteen thousand converts. In this he was aided by an Edict of 1412, for whose proclamation he was himself responsible, which imposed impossible conditions upon the Jews. In addition to the creation of ghettos in all Spanish cities and to the enforcement of the wearing of the Jewish badge, this Edict prohibited the Jews from: practising any handicraft, learning or

practising medicine, having any business dealings with Christians, keeping Christian servants, holding any public office, retaining any of their judicial autonomy, wearing any costume except one of special cut and coarse material, shaving or having their hair cut, being addressed as Don, carrying weapons, or, finally, *moving from their place of residence under any pretext whatever*. This last barbarity was from Vincent's point of view an astute stroke, for it faced the Jew with the alternative of starvation or conversion. It is noticeable that when Vincent left Castile, where this Edict was published, to spread the light in Aragon, and some of the most burdensome restrictions were removed, two-thirds of his converts, to his great grief, returned to Judaism. Here again it was an ecclesiastical persecution falling upon a community which had been practically ruined by the long civil wars of the fourteenth century in Spain, and it would be difficult to find any reason other than the arrival of Vincent for so sudden a change of policy.

Before considering the action of the papacy and of its envoys during the period of the Reformation, it is necessary to turn back and to consider the effects of the legislation already described upon the popular mind. In the first crusade, apart from the Bishops of Mainz and Treves, the other bishops did what they could to protect the Jews—sometimes only offering this protection in return for the promise of conversion, a promise from which the Emperor subsequently released them. The incite-

ment to massacre came from the monks and local clergy. In the second crusade history repeated itself. The massacres were largely perpetrated through the preaching of a renegade French monk Rudolph, in opposition to the appeals and even the personal visit of the saintly Bernard of Cluny, the actual leader of the crusade.

The opening of this crusade coincided in England with the launching of that accusation for which thousands of Jews were to suffer torture and death in ensuing centuries. This was the charge that the Jewish community officially murdered Christians. In this first case, that of William of Norwich, it was alleged that the boy had been crucified in the presence of the whole community. The use of the blood of the victim for ritual purposes was soon added to the charge. Whence this accusation started is not known. It was perhaps a memory of early Christian days, when it was made against the Christians themselves, or it was perhaps brought back by the crusaders, who accused the Moslems of circumcising Christians and using their blood for secret purposes; or it may just be based upon the obvious importance of the ritual making of the Passover bread, and the fact that red wine was drunk at the Passover in memory of the blood of the Israelite children destroyed by Pharaoh.[1]

It is interesting that it seems never to have been made either by Mohammedans or by members of any other religion amongst whom the Jews have

[1] Exod. i. 16.

dwelt. But if it were true, one would expect to find it surviving among the more barbarous Jews of Asia or of Africa rather than in the civilised Jewish communities of Europe. Among these peoples the Jews were also never accused of poisoning wells or otherwise attempting to destroy the people among whom they dwelt.

Whatever its origin, the accusation spread throughout Europe with remarkable rapidity and was soon heard in France, Germany and Poland, as well as in England. In eastern Europe, and among the peasants in many parts, people exist today who still believe in it, and yet apart from the formal denial of it both by Jewish and Christian theologians, there has never even been a plausible legal proof of it. In the first case on record in which the ritual use of blood was included, that at Blois in 1171, the proof was that the man who made the charge, when placed in a barrel and put into the Loire, *floated*, though the barrel was supposed to be full of water. It may be said that Jews upon arrest have often confessed to it, and this is true, but the confessions were extorted under torture. Converted Jews in the violent denunciation of Judaism which they frequently indulged in to prove the genuineness of their conversion, have also made the accusation against their late co-religionists. But they have never been able to sustain the charge in disputation with Jews. That Christians may have been individually murdered by Jews is one thing, that Christians were officially murdered by Jewish

communities is another. It may even be true that among the many who committed murder in superstitious times in order to secure some portion of the murdered corpse for magic purposes,[1] there may have been some Jews, although the strong Jewish prohibition against the use of blood in any form makes it improbable that there were many. But this again was an individual action absolutely condemned by Jewish law.[2]

When there was no missing child to give plausibility to a ritual murder accusation, another charge was possible. They were accused of stealing or buying a Host from the church and of stabbing it until it bled. In all countries of Europe Jews have suffered death for this alleged crime. Miraculous wafers showing the proofs of their bleeding are still in existence in some churches. The Cathedral of Sainte Gudule at Brussels has a whole series of windows made in the nineteenth century which commemorate such an act on the part of the Brussels Jews. In Poznan they have not merely the stabbed wafers, but also the table on which the wafers were stabbed, and which was miraculously discovered by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century, three centuries after the alleged event.[3]

[1] See Strack, *op. cit.*, Chapter XI and XII.

[2] Exod. xxii. 18; Lev. xix. 26 and 31, xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 10 and 11; 1 Sam. xxviii. 3 and 9.

[3] An interesting study of this accusation is to be found in Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, tom. V, livre VII, Chapter XI, § xxi, p. 1685, edition of 1707: " Ces miracles sont très-nouveaux, & il est étonnant que les Juifs n'aient commencé

Yet a third accusation was that of poisoning the wells. Mediæval cities were notoriously insanitary, and plagues of one kind or another were endemic in most of them. Whenever there was a particularly severe outbreak it was put down to Jews, and a certain credibility was alleged in that the Jews suffered less from the plague. This was probably due both to their isolation and also to the fact that their religious code implied a standard of personal and public cleanliness considerably in advance of that of the mediæval Christian. The most famous case was that of the Black Death in 1348, when tens of thousands of Jews lost their lives, and only four town councils in Europe had the courage to protest against the blame being put upon the Jews. These were the councils of Cologne, Strasburg, Basle, and Friburg, but in every case it only involved the council itself in the massacre of the Jews.

à imaginer cette espece d'insulte contre les Chretiens que depuis deux ou trois cens ans. Leur haine etoit-elle moins violente pendant les premiers siecles de l'Eglise? Ou demeurera-t-on d'accord que la Transubstantiation n'étant pas inventée, les Juifs ne se mettoient pas en peine de percer de coups le Pain et le Vin, qui sont les symboles du Corps et du Sang? . . . En effet les Juifs ne commencerent de commettre ces excés que dans le treiziéme siecle, auquel le culte du Sacrement s'établit." He adds that the miracle was of great use in the campaign of the Church to give the sacrament in one kind only: " le crime de ceux de Pologne, . . . obligea le Roi Sigismond, et le peuple à renoncer à la Communion sous les deux Especes; puis qu'il paroissoit si évidemment qu'en recevant l'une, on participoit à l'autre."

Apart from such specific religious accusations as the three already mentioned, the religious motive is clearly seen in massacres such as those which took place throughout Germany in 1336, under the "Armleder." These were two knights, one of whom declared that he had had a divine revelation ordering him to visit upon the Jews the sufferings endured by Christ. They were followed by five thousand peasants and massacred all the Jews they could find in the Rhineland, Alsace, and Swabia.

Such being the attitude of the Catholic Church to the Jews, one would expect to find the Reformation declare itself in their favour, and indeed, Luther, in his earlier works, speaks favourably of them and denounces their persecution. Later, however, he changed his mind and wrote extraordinarily bitter and unjust attacks upon them. He recommended the destruction of their synagogues and their holy books, the prohibition of all teaching of Judaism on the part of their rabbis, the robbing of their wealth, and the setting to forced labour of all those who were not expelled from the country.[1] Calvin has little to say of the Jews. Unfortunately his reply to a letter addressed to him enclosing Luther's later tract, "*Die Juden und ihre Lügen*," and asking for his opinion upon it, is non-existent.[2] He considered that the Jews deserved their punishment for

[1] Luther, *The Jews and Their Lies*. Contrast his opinions in his earlier work, *Jesus was born a Jew*.

[2] Calvin, *Epistolae*, 3371, letter of Blaurerus.

the conventional Christian reasons,[1] but his views remained academic as the Jews had been already expelled from Geneva, and he refused to permit them to return on the ground that if he admitted the Jews he would have to admit Roman Catholics also. On the whole the Reformed Churches who, because of their interest in the Bible, were suspected of being half Jewish, asserted their Christianity by showing themselves no more tolerant to Jews than the mediæval Church.

One of the effects of schism is always an increased narrowness of doctrine and its interpretation, and this was shown by both sides in the period which followed the schism of the Reformation. In particular, the Papacy was no longer occupied by the great humanists of the previous period, but by narrow-minded monks of the type of Pietro Caraffa, who, after being Inquisitor, became Pope under the title of Paul IV in 1555. It was in his time that the Jews lost their privileges in Ancona, which had been one of the safe refuges of those who had been compelled to profess Catholicism in Spain and Portugal. Paul had many of them burnt and confiscated all their property. In addition he reintroduced in an aggravated form all the canonical restrictions, compelling the Jews to live in ghettos throughout Christendom, only allowing one synagogue to each community, however big, and

[1] E.g. *Quin Judaei meritas contempti et oppugnati Christi poenas luant minime dubium.* Pauli III Admonitio 34, Op. Vol. VII, p. 275. Ed. Baum, Cunitz and Rauss.

prohibiting all intercourse with Christians. In Rome itself he compelled them to sell all the real estate which they had come to possess and allowed them to deal only in old clothes. One of his successors, Gregory XIII, placed them under the Inquisition and forbade them to teach in their own schools anything which was obnoxious to Christianity.

To this day the Roman Catholic Church, while not participating in either the economic or racial anti-Semitism of the nineteenth century, has been prepared to offer its friendship to the Jews only at the price of their conversion.

The Protestant churches have been divided in their attitude; the Lutheran Church in Germany being, on the whole, hostile and the English churches more disposed to be friendly. In the discussions which preceded the return of the Jews to England under Cromwell the religious argument, presented sometimes under somewhat comic guise, was of great importance.[1] A French Calvinist, M. Basnage, produced at the end of the seventeenth century the first sympathetic history of the Jews

[1] " The Millenarian, Nathaniel Holmes, argued that the return of the Messiah could not come until the Jews were dispersed throughout the whole world. A rumour had just been circulated that the Lost Ten Tribes had been discovered in America, so that it appeared that England was the only country which was delaying the return by excluding the Jews and so preventing the fulfilment of the prophecy that the Jews must be scattered throughout the *whole* of the world." Hyamson, *History of the Jews in England*, p. 150.

since their dispersion. His summing up of the preceding period is interesting: " On les a accuséz d'être la cause de tous les malheurs qui arrivoient et chargéz d'une infinité de crimes, auxquels ils n'ont jamais pensé, on a imaginé des miracles sans nombre, afin de les en convaincre, ou plutôt afin d'exercer plus hautement sa haine à l'ombre de la religion. Nous avons fait un recueil des loix que les Conciles et les Princes ont publié contre eux, par lesquelles on pourra juger de l'iniquité des uns et de l'oppression des autres." [1] It is interesting that immediately upon the publication of this book a pirated edition was issued under Catholic auspices at Paris, in which the statements of M. Basnage were considerably altered.[2] A hundred years later a German author, Christian William Dohm, wrote a most important study, *Upon the Civil Amelioration of the Condition of the Jews*, which went much further than the work of Basnage in that it attempted to disentangle the effect upon the Jewish character of the mediæval persecutions, and to suggest the ways by which a juster balance could be secured in the Jewish community.

In dealing with the religious element in anti-

[1] Basnage, *l'Histoire et la Religion des Juifs depuis Jésus Christ jusqu'à present.* Rotterdam, 1707, Introduction.

[2] See *l'Histoire des Juifs reclamée et rétablie par son véritable auteur M. Basnage, contre l'édition anonyme et tronquée, qui s'en est faite à Paris chez Roulland*, 1710. *Avec plusiers Additions, pour servir de VI tome à cette Histoire.* Rotterdam, 1711.

Semitism the normal teaching of the Christian religion cannot be omitted. Though it would be unfair to say that the ordinary "Sunday school" or the religious teaching given elsewhere to children was intentionally anti-Semitic, yet it remains true that in the immense majority of cases the Jews are simply presented as the people who killed Christ and who opposed and persecuted Paul and the early Apostles. The Gospel caricature[1] of the Pharisees is all that they are taught of Jewish religion. The result is inevitably to create a dislike of the *modern* Jew in the mind of the child, since it is only with these events that he connects the word "Jew."

[1] Caricature in the sense that, while the failings of the Pharisees at the time are rightly denounced, the Gospels themselves give us no conception of the deep spiritual rôle played by the Pharisees in the development and preservation of Judaism. It was out of the group to which the Pharisees belonged that the Jews who were "looking for the consolation of Israel" also came.

# CHAPTER V

## THE ECONOMIC ELEMENT IN ANTI-SEMITISM

An attempt has been made to show in the previous chapter that the instinctive anti-Semitism of today, which makes it almost impossible to treat the subject without prejudice, has its origin in religious intolerance and not in the economic position of the Jews. There are, however, important economic elements in their situation, which have prevented anti-Semitism from disappearing with the growth of religious tolerance.

It is often said that the part played by Jews in commerce and finance is due to racial aptitude, that it is an instinct with the Hebrews—to use Semites in this connection is impossible as no such financial aptitude has been shown by other Semites such as the Arabs; and authors like Werner Sombart[1] work out an extremely complicated theory by which the Jewish religion was bound to lead to financial ability and even to the capitalist system of today. But not only were the European Jews who developed into traders and business-men a minority of the Jewish people during the centuries of this development, but we have already seen that many

[1] *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, Leipzig, 1911.

Jewish communities, where conditions are different, have not developed financial ability at all. The Jews, as an educated people, are also some two thousand years older than the western Europeans, and it is not surprising to find this concentration upon trade and finance in a people who, apart from all other consideration, must often have been the only members of the community, except the clergy, who could read and write and keep accounts.

Until the Church compelled their expulsion from public office they were much employed in all sorts of functions by different rulers, being even charged with foreign relations and important embassies. The one office which they retained in spite of all ecclesiastical opposition was that of collectors of the taxes, and many otherwise anti-Semitic rulers insisted on protecting their Jewish finance ministers. They were similarly employed by the nobles as farmers of their estates and agents for the collection of their revenues. In the east of Europe such a situation will still be found today, and violent anti-Semites of Hungary and Rumania will admit their inability to dispense with the services of their "house Jew," who alone prevents their estates from falling into ruin. It is not the Jews only who have found that such occupations are not popular. Tax collectors are unpopular today, even though they have nothing whatever to do with fixing the amount of the tax, and draw no personal profit from the collection of it. When the collector draws his own income—often a very large one—

from the amount of money he can extort, he is naturally detested, even though he be of the purest Aryan stock. Nor is the position of the land agent of an absentee nobility any more ingratiating.

These occupations would only cover a very small number of the Jewish population of any country. The urge which drove the rest into finance came from outside.

The most important factor was the prohibition of usury. Lecky, in *The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, says: "From an extremely early period the exaction of interest was looked upon with disfavour. The origin of this prejudice is probably to be found in the utter ignorance of all uncivilised men about the laws which regulate the increase of wealth, and also in that early and universal sentiment which exalts prodigality above parsimony. . . . From the time of Thespis downwards, as Bentham reminds us, there is scarcely an instance in which a lender and a borrower have appeared upon the stage without the sympathies of the audience being claimed for the latter. The more ignorant the people the more strong will be this prejudice; and it is therefore not surprising that those who were the pre-eminent representatives of parsimony, who were constantly increasing their wealth in a way that was so different from the ordinary forms of industry, and who often appeared in the odious light of oppressors of the poor, should have been regarded from the earliest times

with dislike."[1] This dislike of the usurer was also due to the fact that a mediæval loan was generally due either to necessity or to unproductive expenditure. In the former case it appeared, as Lecky says, "odious oppression," and in the latter the expenditure of the loan, whether upon a war, a palace, or an abbey, did not in itself produce, as does a modern commercial loan, fresh money from which the loan could be reasonably repaid.

The mediæval Church never varied in its official condemnation of the taking of interest under any form, and did not in the least discriminate between a reasonable interest and extortion.[2] All the same, it is a mistake to think that the Jews, even if the chief, were the only usurers of the Middle Ages. The development of commerce in Italy in the eleventh century had already created a sufficient number of Christian usurers for them to be officially condemned by the Lateran Council of 1179. In particular the Venetians and Florentines engaged in this occupation, and later the Cahorsin from France were added to the number. There is no evidence that they asked any less interest than the Jews, though the Cahorsin in particular attempted to evade the Church regulations by an ingenious system. If a loan were asked for six months, they gave it free of interest for three—and charged

[1] Edition of 1913, Longmans & Co., Vol. II, p. 252.

[2] For a collection of the more important references in the Fathers and Church decrees, see Lecky, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 255.

50 per cent. per month for the rest of the time; arguing that as it was possible that the man might repay it in two months, they were not really taking usury. The rate of interest varied considerably, though it was quite common for the king to lay down a maximum which might be anything from 20 to 100 per cent. per annum. The class chiefly indebted to the Jews was that of the lesser barons, hence the number of massacres which took place under their leadership. The peasantry probably owed much less at this period, since money entered little into their scheme of things, but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the indebtedness of the peasants in eastern Europe was the object of much legislation, and of a great deal of animosity against the Jews.

In the twelfth century the crusades created a quite unprecedented demand for ready money, in order to finance wars abroad, and this put a premium upon the Jewish traders who possessed it and led to a great extension of usury among them. Moreover, the Jews had a motive which the Christian did not possess for keeping much of his wealth in coin; this was the insecurity of his place in society and the ever present possibility of a flight or an expulsion. As French and German Jews found first, and Spanish Jews found later, the possession of land or houses was a dead loss at such times, for it was impossible to sell them at anything approaching their real value. The prospective purchaser was naturally unwilling to buy that which the Jew, in

a few weeks' time, would be forced to leave behind in any case. They thus began to hoard gold and jewels and anything which they would be able to carry away with them. Even this did not always save them, for they were frequently searched in crossing the frontier and were exposed to perpetual danger from robbers. In one of the expulsions from France they were only allowed to carry enough to buy food for one day; and in the expulsion from Spain they were allowed to take with them neither jewels, gold nor silver.

Thus began a vicious circle. As soon as it was realised by those who wanted money that the Jew possessed it, all kinds of exactions were made upon him to make him give it up. The more money extracted from him, the higher was his rate of interest. The extent to which the Jews were taxed can be well seen from their life in England during the century which preceded their expulsion in 1290. It was a century of conflict between the king and the barons, which involved both in considerable expense; and the barons had a considerable economic motive in their hatred of the Jew in that most of the king's supplies came from them. Thus in 1241 all the Jews of England were compelled to send representatives to meet Henry III in Lincoln. They believed that it was to discuss the amelioration of their position. They found that the sole purpose was to provide the King with 20,000 marks. Two years later Henry obtained 32,000 marks from Aaron of York, the ex-Presbyter of the English

Jews. In the next year, 1244, an alleged ritual murder provided him with an excuse for extorting 60,000 marks from the Jews of London.

In the civil wars of the period many English Jewries were sacked, and care was always taken by the barons to destroy the records of their indebtedness, but this did not help them as much as they hoped since the King kept duplicates of all debts owed to the Jews, which they were unable to destroy. This system allowed the King several advantages. When in great need of money he could collect the debt himself. When he wished to extort money from the Jews he had a fair idea of how much he could get from them. Also, as a Jew could not bequeath his property to his son, the King had a fair knowledge of the extent of the inheritance he was entitled to collect. The Jews were finally so reduced to poverty by these continual exactions that in the last decades of the thirteenth century they frequently appealed for permission to leave the country; and in 1290 they were expelled. Their poverty had destroyed their usefulness to the King, and their place had been to some extent taken by the wealthier Christian usurers, the Cahorsin and the Lombards.

Another reason for the Jewish concentration upon money-lending was their exclusion from other trades. As the guilds spread their control throughout Europe, they came to be exclusive monopolies covering both merchants and artisans. The Jews were universally excluded from the guilds, which

were largely religious in their character, and thus the extension of their influence drove the Jews out of one occupation after another. In the time of Edward I, the Jews in England could only engage in money-lending and the export of wool, and in the statute *De Judaismo*, Edward made an attempt to exclude them from the former by giving them other opportunities, both in trade and agriculture. But the guilds prevented the one, and the fact that they could not lease a farm for more than ten years, or employ Christians who knew something about farming to teach them agriculture, made the other concession entirely useless.

While in the mediæval persecution the most important economic element was the dislike of the usurer, the sixteenth and subsequent centuries saw greater hostility based upon competition. The sixteenth century with its acquisition of a new world was a period of rapidly developing commerce. In it the foundations of the modern capitalist system were laid. The extent to which the Jews were responsible for this may be much exaggerated, but they undoubtedly played a considerable part in its development. Their general distribution in Europe had changed as a result of the persecution of the preceding centuries, and there is a certain correspondence between their movement and the movement of wealth. It is a strange fact that the enormous Empire of Spain in the sixteenth century was not accompanied by a development in national prosperity; and that the country which

made the most rapid progress at that time was Holland. It is not unreasonable to see a connection here with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and their settlement in Amsterdam, so long as this is not taken as the only factor of the situation. It is, moreover, true that the spread of the Spanish Jews to the Levant placed practically all the Levantine trade of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in their hands, and made the commercial prosperity of the Italian trading cities largely dependent upon their attitude to the Jews.

In fact, the question of the inclusion or exclusion of the Jews becomes now as important to the merchant as it had previously been to the clergy. Opinion was by no means unanimous. Just as in the Middle Ages, when the Jews had been expelled from a town, there had been sometimes appeals from the merchant guilds for their readmission, because of their value to the commercial life of the town, so now there were those who looked upon the Jews as an asset to be encouraged rather than as a liability to be suppressed or at best relegated to a restricted sphere of operation. In Venice in 1550, when the Senate proposed to expel them, there was a protest from the Christian merchants, who said that, if they departed, they themselves would be compelled to close their businesses, since the Jews held nearly all the Spanish wool trade, all the colonial trade (such as spices, pearls, pepper, dyes, and sugar), a large part of the export trade and all the business of changing foreign money.

On the other hand, in the long discussions which preceded their return to England, the politicians, such as Cromwell, were as much in favour of their readmission as the Divines. But the merchants almost unanimously opposed it on the grounds of the competition which it would involve.

In France Colbert was as much in favour of extending privileges to the Jews as Cromwell. He drew attention to the prosperity of those towns which, like Marseilles, allowed the Jews freely to practise their trade. When, as a result of attacks by some soldiers, the rich Jews proposed to leave Bordeaux, the City Council were afraid that it would mean the ruin of the town. Many other witnesses of the same kind could be quoted to show that there were merchants in favour of the residence of Jews among them, and their testimony is more impressive than that of those towns which did not have them and did not want them, since the latter were speaking from a basis of presupposition, and the former from experience. Yet there were many places where the attitude was based upon knowledge, but hostile.[1] The usual accusation made against them was that of unfair competition. By standards below that of the Christian merchant, the Jew robbed the latter of his clients. To understand what this accusation implies it is necessary to know something of the conditions under which the Jews

[1] Compare Werner Sombart, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII, beginning, where he collects evidence of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Germany, England, and France.

found themselves in the towns where they were allowed to settle. They were not on an equality with the Christian merchant, even those of the same trade. Moreover, they were not burghers, and their rivals were frequently the actual city fathers who had the right to give or to oppose their licence to trade.[1] But there were disabilities which, if less easily definable, were of still greater importance. They could never be sure that favourable treatment accorded to them by one authority would not be withdrawn by another. The possibility of their complete expulsion was before their eyes in central Europe until the eighteenth century, and in Russia until the war. In such a situation a vicious circle was inevitably created. Nothing existed to tie the Jew definitely to the land in which he worked. He might have motives of gratitude to a particular sovereign, but he had no grounds for such motives towards society as a whole, for when it was not actively hostile, it at least kept him at arm's length. The effect of this on the Jewish character will be considered later. Here it is enough to draw attention to the obvious external results of their position. The lack of security impelled the Jew to make his profit as quickly as he could while he had the opportunity to do so. The quiet waiting for returns, which was good business with an old-established burgher firm, which knew that its position was absolutely secure, was an impossible

[1] Compare the Polish Parliamentary Constitution of 1768, quoted in Dubnow, Vol. I, 267.

policy for the Jewish rival. Moreover, his exclusion from civic life gave him no special motive of loyalty to his competitors. This showed again in his relation to his clients. The Christian merchants of the Middle Ages had evolved a system of mutual protection by a complete code forbidding a merchant to rob his neighbour of his business.[1] But in return he had complete security in his own. His clients were hereditary, and since trade was very static in its conceptions the clients of a merchant provided children to be the clients of his son. But the Jew had no clients ready waiting for him. He had to go out and get them; and inevitably he had to find ways of getting them which were foreign to the old system.

For both these reasons, the need of quick profit and the need of seeking for clients, the charge that the Jewish standard of business honour differed from and was lower than that of the Christians, is a natural one and probably often true. The connection between business honour, civic responsibility, and family stability is a very close one. Where it does not exist the result is generally pernicious. It is probable that one of the reasons for the frequent scandals in big business in the United States and for the corruption of the relation between business men and civic authorities is the fact that the sense of civic responsibility and of family stability has been lacking. Nor are those

[1] *Allgemeine Schatzkammer der Kaufmannschaft* (1741), p. 677, quoted in Werner Sombart, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII.

whose names have been prominent in such scandals usually Jews. The white exploitation of primitive peoples which was such a disgraceful feature of the nineteenth century, and which is not unknown today, has something of the same character. But the Jew has had to pay for his misdoings in this direction in a way that the other has not. Dishonest trading by a citizen can be attacked by legal reform, by tightening up commercial legislation, by public opinion, and so on; but the Jew was not a citizen. The obvious measure to take in his case was either to restrict his opportunities for these malpractices or to exclude him altogether. So was the vicious circle completed. Insecurity compelled measures which would have been unnecessary to a permanent citizen. These measures in turn were an argument for denying that citizenship which alone could reasonably destroy them by making them unnecessary.

That the Jewish misdoing did, in fact, largely partake of this character is shown by an analysis of the main complaints. That of usury remains, as usual, a constant one. But, in addition, appear three which are more or less new. The first is that they did not wait in their shops for clients to come to them, but set out to attract them by every possible means. They employed people to lie in wait for newcomers to the town, and canvass from house to house, and offered their wares to passers-by. It is still impossible to pass through Jewish commercial streets such as the Judengasse in Vienna

without being offered every conceivable article of clothing. The second is that they sold their goods at a lower price than that of Christian merchants, without the goods being necessarily of inferior quality. The third is that they bought and sold goods of a doubtful origin, or even known to be stolen. People who did these things were naturally unpopular. The first two did not in any way imply dishonesty, and are, in fact, considered fundamental principles of good business today. They were inevitably adopted by the Jew, for if he did not attract clients he would get none. The participation of Jews in the third, while it has no excuse, has at least this explanation, that while it is an essentially disloyal act to the community, the Jew who was not personally honourable had fewer motives for abstaining from it than a similar Christian. He was allowed no self-respect in the community, so that he had none to lose if found out. If he had to fly from one town that was only part of his natural existence for centuries, and he was quickly at home in another. It had none of the terrors for him that such a flight would have for a bourgeois family deeply rooted in its civic life. Moreover, if the community was hostile to him, why should he not take his revenge in this way? Why should he take pains to find out the origin of articles which were offered him for sale; and if an Antonio's spoons with an Antonio's crest upon them were offered to a Shylock after he had been thoroughly insulted by an Antonio, it was but human nature that he

should find some satisfaction in the deal. At the same time, while recognising it as a human weakness, it must not be supposed that "receiving" was considered in general as honourable by the Jews. A good instance of this is the solemn engagement taken by the old-established Spanish Jews of Hamburg in the eighteenth century before the city fathers that they would be responsible for the honourable behaviour of the German Jews who were beginning to settle in the town, and especially that they would see that they did not engage in "receiving."

While, then, commercial anti-Semitism had a basis in fact, it is reasonable to find its explanation in the situation of the Jewish competitor, rather than in the inherent wickedness of the Jew. Similar situations produce similar results, whatever the nationality of the person concerned; and today the consumer considers it one of his greatest protections, that the possible establishment of a rival compels the dealer to keep his prices and his quality at a level at which he need not fear competition. In so far as there is a basis of dishonesty in the complaints, it can be reasonably said that this dishonesty is more frequently found among the Jews, because they are more frequently exposed to the particular temptations which lead to it.

In the nineteenth century, while the mediæval charge of usury and the new charge of low business morality still persist, another charge appears, which if not absolutely new, at least assumes a new

importance. This is the exploitation by the Jewish trader of the peasants and the urban proletariat, and is particularly frequent where the standard of living and civilisation is low, as in the territories of pre-war Russia and Rumania. Apart from a few very rich bankers and dealers, the immense majority of eastern European Jews are miserably poor themselves. They are small traders and pedlars living upon the border line of poverty. The disappearance of " natural economy " in the nineteenth century reduced them in an increasing measure to living entirely upon the fruit of their trade. This drove them into increasing competition with each other and into an increasing exploitation of the peasants and city poor among whom they were living. It is often said that the Jew migrates naturally to a nation in a condition of decay or of weakness, that like a parasite or a disease germ he only flourishes where there is already something wrong. As a generalisation this is manifestly untrue. Usually the Jew does not move voluntarily, he goes where he is pushed. Nor has the settlement of Jews been usually accompanied by a decline. The settlements in Amsterdam and Hamburg coincided with great increases in the wealth and prosperity of those towns. Since 1881 when the Jewish migration to the United States began to assume large proportions, it cannot be said that the prosperity of the country has declined. Into eastern Europe itself they were invited by kings who, like Boleslav and Casimir, wished to increase the

civilisation of a country consisting of little more than a warrior nobility and an ignorant peasantry.

All the same, it is true that the Jews have been the instrument of the exploitation of the most backward peasantries of Europe, those of Poland, Galicia, Russia, and Rumania, and have had a much smaller rôle among the more active peasantry of the west of Europe and the north. The reasons for this seem to lie more in the nature of the peasantry than in the Jew, since, as we shall see later, where there are no Jews, a backward peasantry merely falls under the exploitation of someone else. Yet in these parts it has been a means of degradation for both sides, and one to which it is needful for the moral health both of the Jewish people and the national peasantry to find constructive remedies.

The single most important occupation and at the same time the most tragic in its effects has been the sale of alcohol. In Poland the right of manufacturing and selling alcohol was granted by the king to the nobles in 1496, and was, in almost every case, farmed out by them to the Jews. It was one of the causes of the hatred which developed during the seventeenth century against the Jews in Poland and the Ukraine and led to the massacres of 1648. By the eighteenth century it had come to be almost their chief occupation. "This pursuit often resulted in a clash between the Jew and the peasant, that outlawed serf who was driven to the tavern, not by opulence, but by extreme poverty and suffering, brought upon him by the heavy hand of

his aristocratic landlord. The final stage in the economic breakdown of the peasant was reached at the door of the tavern, and the Jewish liquor dealer was in consequence looked upon as the despoiler of the peasants. This accusation against the Jews was brought forward by the slave-holding magnates, who were the real cause of the impoverishment of their peasant serfs, and pocketed the proceeds of the traffic which they let out to the Jews." [1]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both before and after the partition of Poland, many efforts were made to turn the Jews from this traffic, but since nearly every other occupation was closed to them, the attempts were without success. In 1804 an effort was made to encourage them to take up agriculture by excluding them from the liquor traffic, but the authorities found that it was much easier to exclude them than to find fresh occupations for them. Moreover, the root of the difficulty was not the innkeeper, but the demand of the peasant for drink. "It is obvious that the root of the evil is not to be found with the saloon keepers, but in the right of distilling, which constitutes the prerogative of the squires, and their main source of income. Let us suppose the 60,000 Jewish innkeepers to be turned out from the villages. The result will be that 60,000 Russian peasants will take their place, and so many efficient farm hands will be lost to the soil, while the Jews cannot be expected

[1] Dubnow, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 265.

to be transformed into capable agriculturists at a moment's notice, the less so as the government has no resources to effect the sudden transformation of innkeepers into corngrowers." [1] In 1894 the Jews were finally expelled from innkeeping and the distilling of liquor, but the only result was the ruin of thousands of Jewish families. The peasant continued to drink as much in the "Imperial bars" as he had in the Jewish tavern. Rumanian experience has shown in exactly the same way that this rural degradation has nothing primarily to do with the Jews. Popular feeling, however, and national pride still continue to find them a convenient scapegoat.

The position of these Jewish exploiters of the peasants is made still more difficult by the extreme unwillingness of the landlords to dispense with their Jewish agents and "house Jews." In Rumania and Hungary particularly, there are still a great number of large estates, and the majority of them are farmed by Jews while their noble landlords enjoy the life of the capital cities and pleasure resorts of Europe. Though they are frequently extremely anti-Semitic themselves they would not dream of getting rid of these Jews because, as they say naïvely, no one else could get the same income out of the estates. It is also admitted that the Jewish estate farmer is more competent in his treat-

[1] Extract from the Report of the Committee appointed to study the method of diverting Jews from the rural liquor traffic; January 1809. See Dubnow, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 352.

ment of the estate itself than others. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this, and the situation has to some extent changed since the war; but it still remains true that the primary responsibility for the exploitation of the peasants upon the large estates of eastern Europe lies with the extravagance and carelessness of the aristocracy rather than the extortions of the Jews.

In addition to the unpopularity which they earned as exploiters of the peasants, the nineteenth century produced a new class of urban poor in the people who came in from the villages to seek work in the towns. In the second generation they began to set up little shops to cater for the needs of their community. They found the Jews already established, and their chief rivals. They began to put up signs "Christians buy from Christians," and the phrase "Christian shop" can frequently be seen in Poland. Possessing still the inheritance of religious anti-Semitism they attributed to Jewish malevolence what was merely the effect of a situation for which neither Jew nor Pole was to blame.[1]

[1] Compare *La Pologne restaurée* by Casimir Smogorzewski: "Par suite de l'entrée croissante des éléments polonais dans le commerce et l'industrie, la lutte de concurrence entre Polonais et Juifs devenait de plus en plus aigue. Les Juifs dans le Royaume de Pologne se sont trouvées dans une situation économique difficile à un double point de vue. D'un côté l'afflux de l'élément polonais au commerce et à l'industrie retrécissait de plus en plus pour les Juifs les chances de trouver une occupation rémuneratrice. D'un autre côté, le développement rapide des sociétés coopératives

This same economic competition began to be felt also in the professional classes at the end of the nineteenth century and was enormously increased after the war. Even before their emancipation—for in Russia this only took place with the revolution which abolished the bourgeoisie, and in Poland and Rumania in 1919—the Jews had come to play a considerable rôle as industrialists, bankers, lawyers, doctors, and journalists. While there were still many openings for the sons of the gentry in the administration of the huge empires of Russia and Austria-Hungary, which were preserves from which the Jews were excluded, this was not noticed or felt to be an intolerable trespassing upon their prerogatives. But after the war the rearrangement of frontiers and the economic stringency of the post-war years drew sudden attention to this situation and it was felt to be an insupportable wrong.

Thus, today, economic anti-Semitism has appeared in every strata of society and affects the Jew in all his different occupations. In the peasantry,

de consommation, qui, dans les dernières années avant la guerre, a fait des progres énormes en Pologne, eut des conséquences fatales pour le sort de la grande masse des boutiquiers juifs.

"Toute une série de phénomènes a donc contribué à l'accentuation de l'antagonisme entre les populations polonaise et juive, et cela indépendamment de la volonté de l'une ou de l'autre, et uniquement par suite des conditions anormales et difficiles dans lesquelles elles se trouvaient toutes deux," p. 216.

among the urban proletariat, and in the bourgeois classes and aristocracy he is felt to be a dangerous rival and a nuisance to the community. The result is expressed in political or racial terms, which attribute to Jewish intention a situation which is the result of historical conditions for which neither the Jew nor the Gentile of today are responsible, and which has little hope of altering without serious action on both sides and a return to sufficient prosperity to make the economic competition less acutely felt.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE POLITICAL AND RACIAL ELEMENT IN ANTI-SEMITISM

To say how much exactly of every particular manifestation of anti-Semitism is to be allotted to the religious, political and economic motive, is a useless and indeed impossible task. So far it has been suggested that at first the religious motive was paramount, though some economic element was rarely absent even in the mediæval persecution; but that from the sixteenth century onwards the economic motive acquired increasing importance, and manifested itself in new forms. It now remains to see the extent to which political and racial antagonisms added a new element in the nineteenth century and caused a considerable recrudescence of hostility towards the Jews in western Europe, where it had seemed to be on a rapid decline.

Some students consider that the national motives can be traced back to the very beginning, and is from the start the most important one. According to Professor Salo Baron[1] States can be divided into three kinds, States coinciding with nations, States containing several nations, and States containing

[1] *Menorah Journal*, Nos. of June and November 1929.

only a part of a nation. The first he considers to be always anti-Semitic, since the Jews are clearly a foreign element in the body-politic and are either completely assimilated (often by compulsory baptism) or driven out. The second kind is always tolerant. The third may be either. The weakness of the theory lies particularly in the third category, since it covers a large part, geographically and historically, of the field with which we are concerned, and therefore leaves it uncertain as to why in one case the one result should follow, and in another the other. The whole of the mediæval and modern Germany, and mediæval France and the kingdoms of mediæval Spain, come under this category.

There is, however, an important element of truth in the relationship which he draws between anti-Semitism and States of the first and second category. A State which is composed of a mass of nationalities, of different languages and religions, is less likely to notice the presence of the Jews than a state which, apart from them, is a compact racial and linguistic whole. The fact that the Jews have kept themselves apart, even when their relations with their neighbours have been quite friendly, has entailed there always being a foreign element in the community, so that it is natural that an aggressive national community should feel difficulties in its relations with them. Nationalism is, however, in itself a comparatively recent growth, and the political aspects which modern anti-Semitism has

assumed seem to be due rather to the simultaneous appearance of nationalism and the emancipation of the Jews than to the particular composition of the state.

Even in western Europe there are few countries where the Jews have enjoyed complete equality with other citizens for a century. It was only in 1870 that every position (except that of sovereign!) was opened to the Jews in England. In Germany they could not hold cabinet rank before 1919.[1]

[1] Apart from minor and particular restrictions, the dates of emancipation in the more important countries of Europe are as follows:

| *Complete Emancipation.* | *Partial Emancipation.* |
|---|---|
| | 1655 England, complete liberty of domicile and trade. |
| 1753 England* | |
| 1791 France | |
| 1796 Holland | |
| 1808 Westphalia** | |
| 1811 Hamburg** | 1811 Baden |
| Lubeck** | Frankfurt |
| Bremen** | |
| Papal States** | |
| | 1812 Prussia, except for political office. |
| 1815 Belgium | |
| 1820 Hesse | |

* A bill was passed giving the Jews complete political emancipation, but it caused such a storm of opposition that it was withdrawn the following year.

** Withdrawn on the defeat of Napoleon, and in Lubeck and Bremen followed by actual expulsion.

Though complete emancipation is thus of very recent origin, many of the more burdensome restrictions upon their freedom had been removed earlier, and Jewish life began already to blossom out in the period of Moses Mendelssohn in the middle of the eighteenth century. With the nineteenth century new opportunities were offered everywhere to the Jewish community, especially its more wealthy members, of penetrating into the ranks of the European bourgeoisie and upper class. This penetration was not unaccompanied by many humiliations, from which neither wealth nor

| *Complete Emancipation.* | *Partial Emancipation.* |
|---|---|
| 1848 Prussia | |
| Hanover | |
| Nassau | |
| 1849 Denmark | |
| 1851 Norway | |
| 1858 Spain | 1858 England, parliamentary rights accorded. |
| 1859 Italy | |
| 1861 Wurtemberg | |
| 1862 Baden | |
| 1866 Switzerland | |
| 1867 Austria-Hungary | |
| 1868 Saxony | |
| 1870 England | |
| 1870 German Empire | |
| 1917 Russia | |
| 1919 Poland | |
| Roumania | |

The figures are based upon *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, by Israel Cohen, second edition, p. 117 ff.

intelligence entirely freed them.[1] At the same time the power of the bourgeoisie steadily increased from the end of the Napoleonic wars, and every new industrial development placed them at a greater advantage in relation to the old landed aristocracy who hitherto had been the chief holders of power. The rise of the middle class had taken place a century earlier in England, but on the Continent it was not until the nineteenth century that they began to assume an important position in the State. Their increase of wealth brought with it naturally an increased desire for political power, and the century was marked by a steady increase of the franchise and by many revolutions which were the work of this class, especially those of 1848. As the old aristocracy lost its power, the capital cities also increased their importance, for they were the centre of the trade, commerce and banking of the middle class. This in turn gave additional prominence to the Jews, who were concentrated to a large extent in the capitals and the big industrial cities. The rise of the middle class was thus accompanied by an increase in prominence of the Jews in all spheres of life now open to them. In cities such as Vienna and Budapest their percentage was sufficiently large to be noticeable, especially in certain professions and occupations. The press,

[1] An excellent example of the difficulties encountered is to be found in the pages of *The Rise of the House of Rothschild*, by Count Corti; or *La Vie de Disraeli*, by André Maurois.

the theatre, law and medicine began to have a percentage of Jewish members out of all proportion to their distribution in society. Enormous fortunes began to be made by them in banking and in commerce.

But though geographically and professionally concentrated into relatively few centres in Europe, it is nevertheless true that there was little sign of that concerted, unanimous policy which is the nightmare of the anti-Semite writer.[1] At the beginning of the century the most important Jews in Europe were certainly the brothers Rothschild, who were closely identified with the reactionary and legitimist policy of Metternich. A study of the rise of the house of Rothschild and its reign as told by Count Corti reveals how frequently Metternich's policy depended upon his ability to obtain money for it from the Vienna branch of that house. In 1822 it was only by their aid that he was able to quell a revolt in Naples. When the English house seemed to be siding with the rebels in Spain, Metternich was dismayed, and used successfully his influence with Solomon Rothschild in Vienna to see that no Rothschild gold was available for those who opposed the principle of monarchy, which was the foundation of his policy. On the conservative side also was the most prominent English Jew of the nineteenth century, Benjamin Disraeli. In

[1] Compare Drumont, *La France Juive*, and H. S. Chamberlain, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, Part II, Chapter V and *passim*.

Germany, Bismarck, in the first years of his power, was able to assure his policy through the support of the national liberal party founded by the two Jews, Lasker and Bamberger. There were also important Jews in the radical parties of Europe, such as Adolphe Crémieux, founder of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and minister in the cabinet of defence of 1871, and Victor Adler, leader of the Socialist party in Austria before the war.

It is, nevertheless, true that, apart from England, it was in the newly formed democratic, radical or liberal parties that the Jewish influence was most strongly felt. This was the natural consequence of the conflicts which had accompanied their emancipation. It was the French Revolution which had set the example, in the political field, and the liberal régime of Joseph II of Austria, which had first lightened their social and economic burdens. In central Germany it was the governments established by Napoleon which had swept away the disabilities under which they lived; and, on the other hand, it was the reactionary governments which followed his downfall which imperilled them and in most cases annulled them altogether. Though the emancipation of the Jews was supposed to follow from the Treaty of Vienna, few steps were taken anywhere to carry it into effect, and they laboured under their mediæval disadvantages until the bourgeois revolutions of 1848 brought liberal ideas again to the front. Conservatism being thus associated with restrictions, and liberalism with

emancipation, it was inevitable that their newly won political power should be expressed in support of the party which had obtained it for them. It is said that 50 per cent. of the members of the socialist party in the German Reichstag before the war were Jews,[1] and in France and Austria their numbers in this party were also considerable. Even in Russia the first Duma had a Jewish element in the parties of the left.

In general political development the nineteenth century was significant for the extension of political action into new fields of national life, both industrial and commercial. These were fields in which the Jews played their greatest rôle, so that it was not in the political parties only, that their position attracted attention, but a political significance was attached to their financial, industrial and economic activities. The Rothschilds were not only bankers but played a prominent part in industrial development. They were instrumental in the first beginnings of railway development, both in France and Austria. They owned important factories and shipping lines. Other families, such as the Bleichroeders, the Pereires, and Achille Fould, also played a very important part in business life.

Another remarkable development of the nineteenth century was the political power of the newspaper, and many important papers, such as the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the *Daily Telegraph* in England, were

[1] Steed, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, p. 155.

in Jewish hands, and were naturally suspected of using their influence in support of Jewish projects. The theatre, whose popular influence increased steadily throughout the century, was largely in their hands in many countries, and today they exercise a similar control over the moving picture industry.

It was upon such a basis as this that in 1873 a new anti-Semitic movement appeared in Germany. In that year there occurred a serious financial crisis accompanied by an actual crash in Vienna which was due to over-speculation. It was, as a matter of fact, the warnings of a Jew, Edward Lasker, in the Reichstag which drew public attention to the dangerous situation. There were a number of financial scandals, and some of the most prominent business-men involved in them were Jews. This led to the publication by a Hamburg journalist, Wilhelm Marr, of a book entitled *The Victory of Judaism over Germanism*, which had an enormous sale. He translated into current politics the Hegelian idea of the nation-State, which should be a unity of people speaking the same language and of the same racial origin. Thus a semi-scientific basis was given to the movement of which it had not previously felt the need. Germany being at the time in a mood of national enthusiasm after the defeat of France, took up the idea with vigour, though it still remained a subject for literary and philosophical discussion rather than for party action in the Reichstag. But in 1879 it suddenly assumed a

practical political aspect. The reason was perhaps the split between Bismarck and the national liberal party, in which Jewish influence was strong, over the financial policy of the Chancellor. The national liberals were adherents of the Manchester school of free trade and *laissez faire* which Bismarck had himself hitherto supported. Now, however, to cover a deficit in the budget, he proposed to adopt a policy of protection, which threw him more into the arms of the conservatives. Anti-Semitism was, therefore, a useful weapon for discrediting the national liberal party. An anti-Semitic league was founded in Berlin and Dresden in October 1879. It was a union of the agrarian opponents of free trade with the Catholic opponents of the *Kulturkampf*, the Jews being supposed to be responsible for both of these policies. Its leader was pastor Adolph Stöcker, and it won the support of the political philosopher Treitschke, who evolved the theory that the Jews should only be tolerated as long as they were indispensable. But when the Aryans became capable of running their own affairs there was no place left for them unless they completely assimilated and abandoned all their Jewish traditions. If they would not do that, then "I can see," he says, "only one means by which the end can be obtained, and that is to arouse an energy of national pride so real that it becomes a second nature to repel involuntarily everything which is foreign to the Germanic nature. This principle must be carried into everything; it must apply to our visits

to the theatre and to the music-hall as much as to the reading of the newspapers. Whenever he finds his life sullied by the filth of Judaism the German must turn from it, and learn to speak the truth boldly about it. The party of compromise must bear the blame for any unsavoury wave of anti-Semitism which may arise."[1] Such was the "philosophical" basis upon which the anti-Semitic league began its work. Bills were presented to the Reichstag urging the expulsion of the Jews from the schools and universities. They were socially insulted and boycotted, and there were even riots against them. Members of the royal family and many prominent scholars opposed the movement as a relic of the Middle Ages, but it gained great popular support and had at first a considerable number of members in the Reichstag. But hostility to the Jews did not for long prove an adequate basis for a positive policy, and in a few years the political strength of the party was much reduced by a triple split, into an economic, a Christian and a racial antagonism.

The economic section was unfortunate in finding a somewhat disreputable leader in Hermann Arlwardt, and their alliance with the conservative party did nothing but discredit the latter. The political career of the religious anti-Semites was not much more fortunate, and ended not only with the disgrace of Stöcker, who was deprived of his court

[1] Heinrich von Treitschke, *Politics*, English translation, 1916, Vol. I, p. 301.

chaplaincy, but with the discovery that hostility to the Jews was not a broad enough basis for party unity. In Austria, where the growth of anti-Semitism had followed somewhat the same lines, the place of the Lutherans was taken by the Catholics. There also they met with various difficulties, which were not made any less by the intervention of the Pope. The real strength remained, in both countries, with the racial anti-Semitism. This originated in a book by Count Gobineau,[1] which attracted very little attention in France at the time, but was used in Germany by Wilhelm Marr and others to provide a basis in unalterable racial characteristics for the Aryan superiority and the inferior and disintegrating character of the Jewish people. In the year 1885, there was published in France a sensational book by Edouard Drumont, *La France juive*, and ten years later in Germany appeared *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* by Houston Stewart Chamberlain. *La France juive* ran through more than thirty editions in a very short time, owing to the fact that the whole of France had suddenly woken up to the "Jewish problem" through the sensations of the Affaire Dreyfus. Dreyfus was a captain on the French Army Staff who was accused of selling plans to Germany. Condemned at his trial, he was sent to penal servitude on Devil Island. Sus-

[1] The book dealt with the Inequality of the Human Races, and was not specifically concerned with the Jews.

picions were aroused about the authenticity of much of the evidence, and the trial assumed an extraordinary importance through the fact that Dreyfus was a Jew. People were for or against him on their ideas about the Jewish people, and the individual aspect of the case was lost in a flood of pro- and anti-Jewish propaganda. It was finally proved that the evidence was forged, but it was not until twelve years later that Dreyfus was finally reinstated and the agitation died down. With this anti-Semitism died down again in France.

In Germany the racial idea found a more fruitful soil. In his memoirs the ex-Kaiser says " The glory of Teutonism was first revealed and preached to an amazed Germany by Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, but all in vain as the collapse of the German people proves." Chamberlain does not say what race is, and carefully avoids giving a scientific basis to this theory. For him the deciding factor is instinct. It is by instinct that the Aryan not only knows his own superiority, but is able also to recognise other Aryans. An interesting comparison exists between Drumont's description of the Jew and a description to be found in a history school book by two Belgian professors, Murquet and Pergameni.[1] Drumont considers the Jews to have a racial tendency to evil, to be immoral and disloyal, to have no sense of gratitude, and to be

[1] Drumont, *op. cit.*, Chapter I; and Carnegie, *Enquête sur les Livres scolaires d'apres-guerre*, 1923, Report of Dr Prudhommeaux.

secretly aiming at world supremacy. They are hypocritical and mercenary, and have no share in the higher human virtues or idealisms. The Belgian professors state that "taken as a whole, they have, as a result of divers racial instincts a leaning to evil—physical indulgence, innate malice and cruelty, an instinct to rob, and plunder, and murder, ingratitude for even the noblest hospitality, forgetfulness of services rendered them, exaggerated and bitter Chauvinism caused by jealous hate of other lands, hereditary and abnormal ambition to achieve world supremacy, complete lack of generosity, and inability to understand the heroism or unselfishness of opponents. They have given convincing proof that hypocrisy, servility, and cunning are characteristic of their race; that cruelty and evil are innate and irrepressible instincts in them; that they have no human instincts, no idea of right and justice, no understanding of honour and no sense of humour." The two descriptions are parallel in almost every detail, but there is one striking difference. Drumont is describing the Jews; the Belgian professors are describing the Germans! Let it be said at once that the average reader is no more likely to believe the second description than the first, but it is worth setting the two descriptions side by side to show the fallaciousness of such racial summaries. That, as a matter of fact, the German Jew of several generations is not really so easy to distinguish from the Aryan is shown by the confusion of the racists themselves

as to what is Jewish and what is not.[1] For Chamberlain and many of his followers Goethe is the essence of the Teutonic genius. Lenz considers him a typical Teutonic-western-Asiatic half-breed; Hauser considers him a mongrel, pointing out that in *Faust* there are " hundreds of quite pitifully bad verses "; while Hans Hartmann finds his racial origin proved, not in his bad verses, but in his appearance, and has no hesitation in calling him straight out a Jew. " With his protruding dark brown eyes, his nose curved at the point, his long body on short legs which even seem to indicate a slightly shuffling gait, we see before us the prototype of a son of Abraham." [2] After this it is not surprising to find it said that Bismarck himself is conclusively shown to be a Jew by his " Semitic mentality." In spite of these self-contradictions the racial theory is by no means dead. One of the main contributors to its continued existence is the perpetual infiltration into Germany and Austria of Russian Jews from the ghettos of the Pale, or, since the war, from the overcrowded and starving ghettos in Warsaw, Wilna, Lodz and Lwow. These are Jews who are indeed upon a different level of culture, who do not speak German, who know nothing of German traditions, and who present a difficult economic problem to the place which

[1] That the Jews are themselves not a pure race is shown by Fishberg in *The Jews, A Study of Race and Environment*, and still more in Goodbey, *The Lost Tribes: A Myth.*

[2] See Hertz, *Race and Civilisation*, p. 317.

receives them. It is these rather than the old established Jewish families which keep racial anti-Semitism alive, just as it is the Jewish students from eastern Europe who make it so prominent a feature of the university life of Berlin and Vienna.

Apart from the presence of Jews in the constitutional parties of the left, which gave rise to politico-social anti-Semitism, the Jews were equally prominent in the socialist movement. It is a great mistake to consider socialism to have originated with the Jews because it was systematised by Karl Marx. The origins of European socialism are to be found among such writers and thinkers as Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier, and their predecessors were men like John Wesley and Jean Jacques Rousseau. The first socialist party, which was in England, was founded out of Christian idealism, but had nothing in common with the " Christian socialist parties " of Germany and Austria, which have drifted steadily towards conservatism. The difficulty of being at the same time a socialist in the English sense of the word and a Catholic or Lutheran is largely responsible for the anti-religious and non-Christian elements of Continental socialism, among which the emancipated Jew figured largely. The part played by them in revolutionary socialism is also considerable, and they were prominent leaders not only in the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, but in Hungary and Bavaria. The leader of the Russian revolution, Lenin, was a Russian, Trotsky, his second in command, was a Jew, but

the leaders of the other two, Bela Kun and Kurt Eisner, were Jews. It is said that a very large percentage of communist agitators abroad, particularly in Poland, Rumania and France, are also Jews. There are, however, communists of national origin in all countries, and it is unfair to ascribe communist sentiments or sympathies to the whole Jewish people because of the number of Jewish communists.

In eastern Europe, apart from Russia, political anti-Semitism has taken a somewhat different form, and has always had a very strong economic background. In addition to the causes already mentioned, the question of loyalty has been a burning one in the relation between eastern Jews and nationals. The presence of Jews in the fighting forces is due entirely to conscription. It was impossible in the Middle Ages for the Jew to be a soldier. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Jews were compelled to serve in the Russian army, and they are naturally to be found today in all the conscript armies of Europe. In the west they are relatively inconspicuous, and little is heard of them, though in pre-war Germany it was impossible for a Jew to be an officer. But in Rumania and in Poland the presence of the Jew in the army is made the subject of many attacks against him. He is not only said to be a bad soldier but also he is frequently accused of spying and desertion. The casual remark of Bismarck: "For what did God make Polish Jews except to be spies?" is quoted as though

it was a profound truism. At the same time there are a tragically large number of cases in which Jews have been unfaithful to their military service, particularly in the wars which ushered in the Polish State. The fact that a Jew cannot serve in any army on active service without having to fight against his own relations, and the absence of those motives of patriotism and protecting the fatherland which make the ordinary soldier fight, are, to an objective view, an explanation of Jewish conduct in this matter. But in the nationals, who know only that in the hour of peril they were often betrayed by Jews, such cool reflection is not to be expected; nor is the fact that the majority of Jews were loyal an answer to them. It is only by loyal co-operation in the future that such things will be forgotten, but until that co-operation takes place the hostility, even if unspoken, will remain.

The reasons for this military unreliability are to be found in the legislative anti-Semitism of pre-war Russia and Rumania. In both countries the Jews were denied the privilege of citizenship while expected to fulfil all its obligations. In Rumania they were definitely treated as foreigners, and in Russia their rights were dependent upon the whim of the government. Efforts from outside to ameliorate their condition were a complete failure, and they never knew from day to day what new order might be issued against them. Not being citizens they had no channel for expressing their grievances or for securing different treatment.

Under these circumstances it is rather surprising that any Jew was loyal, than that many were not. The fact that in spite of this indefinite situation before the war many Jews amassed considerable wealth only made the hostility greater towards them and increased the fear that if the restrictions were removed, the Jews would rapidly become the masters in their respective countries.

The peace treaties everywhere imposed equal treatment for all inhabitants independently of religion or racial origin. But the fear persisted. No longer able to show itself directly by constitutional action, it has been manifested in all sorts of indirect ways and by individual administrators. To enter into the details of the justice or injustice of such particular actions is impossible, for in the mass of literature of attack and defence there is often no means of establishing either the actual facts or, still more, the intention of the measure or the individual official concerned. For our purposes it is enough to point out that, now that equality is nominally granted, the old fears still persist and show themselves in administrative action.

The whole situation in eastern Europe is still further complicated by the unsolved problem of the relations between a nation and a State. With the example of the more or less homogeneous nation-States of western Europe before their eyes, and with the enthusiasm of liberty in their hearts, the majorities in eastern Europe have everywhere assumed that they made the States and that the

minorities, whatever particular rights they might be given, had yet to fit themselves into a cultural and political framework dictated by the majority alone. The evolution of a new conception of the State is going to require both security, prosperity and long years of political experience, for it is a new manner of thinking about the community which is needed. Meanwhile, the lot of the minorities is bound to be difficult, and of the Jews in particular, for unlike the others, they are not concentrated into more or less definable geographical units.

It is further complicated for them by the conflict between assimilation and nationalism. Many nationals demand the complete renunciation of Jewish traditions as a pre-requisite to the full enjoyment of citizenship in all its implications. "It means that the Jew must come out of his ghetto; that he must close his Yiddish schools and put his boys and girls into Polish schools; that he must educate his children away from (and himself forget) his Talmudic code, rising above his orientalism and putting aside those exotic peculiarities of costume and dress which mark him off from the mass as 'queer,' and bring upon him suspicion and ridicule and pain. He must depart, once and for all, from his Zionistic internationalism, and become a nationalist. In short, assimilation for the Jew in Poland means that he must become a Pole."[1] This sounds astonishingly like what, twenty years ago, German and Russian were saying to the Pole

[1] Charles Phillips, *The New Poland*, p. 206.

himself, what the Hungarian was saying to the Rumanian, and the Austrian to the Czech. If a Jew wishes to assimilate it is his own affair, but it is difficult to see that any national policy will ever bring peace to eastern Europe which demands of the Jew, or any other minority, the complete denial of that which the majority fought for for itself, to the approval of humanity at large.

But if this is so then Jewish nationalism needs itself to reconsider its policy in relation to the States in which 99 per cent. of the Jewish people will have to go on living. Zionism has introduced a new factor into the situation by providing a basis for an openly Jewish political activity. One of the main accusations against the political influence of the Jews in the past has been that it always appeared under a disguised form. But now it is possible for Jews to adopt a policy openly as Jews. To this extent it has performed a service to them in giving them a new self-respect, but it still leaves completely indefinite their attitude to the country where they are living. This is a question not unnaturally asked by the other inhabitants, and if the Jews do not wish to be assimilated, it is fair to ask them to explain how they desire to relate their lives to those of the majority. The evolution of a programme of national Jewish regeneration within the countries now inhabited by them is the reverse side of the picture of a reconstructed Palestine.[1]

[1] Cf. article by Eugene Köhn, *Menorah Journal*, March 1930. "Self-Emancipation in the Diaspora."

Zionism is itself suspect to certain writers who see in it but another proof of the secret purpose of the Jews to dominate the whole world. It is significant that the famous forgery, *the Protocol of the Sages of Zion* was produced as a record of the secret meetings at the first Zionist Conference at Basle in 1897. The world-power of such great banking firms as the house of Rothschild, the enormous funds of the Zionist organisation itself, its activity in many lands, the sympathy with it of wealthy Jews all over the world, the obvious fellow-feeling of Jews in one part with Jews in another who are, or who are supposed to be, oppressed, all these facts, which are perfectly natural, are taken as evidence of a definite plot to obtain world-dominion of which the Zionist organisation is the focal point. But the dispersion of their wealth is but the result of the dispersion of themselves, and, so far as the sympathy which they show to Jews in distress is concerned, the treatment against which they often protest, if meted out to a few nationals of a powerful State, would be met not by protests, but by an immediate demand for compensation accompanied by a threat of war if it were not granted. But like the racial anti-Semites, those who see a plot to gain world domination in these things, go too far, and the real points at issue are lost in extravagances. Just as some racists who do not want to give up Christianity, either allege that Christ was a Teuton, or revive the ancient heresy that the God of the Old Testament is the Devil of

the New, so these ascribe to Jewish machinations the whole of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles.

So long as anti-Semitism was primarily religious intolerance, and the demand made upon the Jews was that they should accept conversion, they could not be expected to give any answer other than a straightforward *non possumus*. Nor can much blame be laid upon them in the earlier economic conflict, when usury was the main issue. That there are two sides to the question, and that Jewish action is needed as well as non-Jewish to overcome the difficulties involved in their peculiar position, begins to be clear in the seventeenth-century economic conflicts, but is still clearer in the issues of today. The extravagances to which anti-Semites have gone have obscured the fact that the fair-minded non-Jew who values his own traditions as much as he desires the Jews to value theirs, has many difficult questions to adjust between himself and the Jews, both in the economic and the political field. As they depend largely on the actual conditions of the Jewish world itself, it will be best to postpone discussion of them until the effect upon the Jewish community, and the individual Jew of the last thousand years has been considered.

# CHAPTER VII

## THE INNER EVOLUTION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

A GREAT deal is written to show that the Jewish temperament, as we know it today, is an inevitable racial inheritance of the original Jewish tribes in Palestine. Not only does he "racially" take to commerce, but the various unpleasant traits which he shows, or is alleged to show, are referred back to the same origin. The denunciations of the Prophets are used to prove what an unpleasant person he is; and his religion is said to encourage him to keep a different standard of morality for his dealings with strangers and with his brother Jews. As a matter of fact, we are still only at the threshold of the understanding of the meaning of race, and most of the studies which have been made upon it thus far have been made with the definite aim of proving this or that, social, political, or national theory.[1] Thus Gobineau, who first spoke of the

[1] At the time of writing it is reported in the press that the Turks are busily digging up skeletons in the cemeteries of Constantinople and its neighbourhood, to prove by cranial measurements that they are of European origin, and that their Turanian ancestry is myth. (See *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Friday, 6th June 1930.)

superiority of the Aryans, says quite frankly that he evolved his theory in order to support his political views of aristocracy. The extent to which there are such things as "racial characteristics" independent of history and environment is still very uncertain, and even the fundamental hypothesis of Gobineau and his followers, the inequality of the races is challenged by many of the scientific authorities of today.

We must not, however, go to the other extreme and deny racial traits altogether. The people who say: "There is no such thing as Germany, there are only Germans," and the same for all other nationalities, while drawing attention to the obvious truth of individuality, leave out the social influence upon the individual, which makes a very firm mould for his thoughts, his ideas, and his actions. In so far as it is said that the Jews are *racially* apt to become traders, and to deal in commerce and finance, it must also be allowed that they must be, *racially*, the most honest traders and financiers that the world has ever known. No people has had such stern critics from among themselves, as had the Jews in the long line of Prophets. If the accusations made against their commercial morality today were true in embryo during the years of their independence and "self-determination," then there would inevitably be a reflection of it in the Prophets. Yet we have seen that the different crimes against commercial morality of which they are accused today, are completely absent from these writings, and that the Torah itself makes practically no

provision for the life of a trading community. There are innumerable references to the sins of the rich, to their repression of the poor and to their general corruption, but these are references to the vices of a corrupt aristocracy and not of corrupt traders. We have also seen that there are Jewish communities today, such as the Beni Israel and the Abyssinian Jews, who are not traders at all.

A more rational explanation, both of the preponderance of the trader and of the evolution of a particular morality among the Jews is to be found in studying their history, and in comparing it with that of other groups who have gone through similar experiences. The Jew is unlike the mass of humanity in that he has evolved apart from the possession of a land of his own and a basis of agriculture. In regions where he has been left undisturbed for long periods he also has shown the normal phenomena of a society based upon the cultivation of the soil. The Jewish principality near Bagdad and that of the Djebel Nefoussi are instances of this, and in Europe itself there have been, on the whole, as many Jewish agriculturalists as the condition of their existence would lead us to expect. Though they are a small minority, there are Jews on the land in Russia, Poland, Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia and Rumania. In Poland there were in 1920 6 per cent. of the Jewish population on the land.[1]

[1] Trotsky is the son of a rich Jewish farmer of South Russia. For the life on a Jewish farm compare his *Autobiography*, first five chapters.

In the towns we find them occupying all the urban professions which are open to them. Where it is possible for them to be doctors, they are doctors; where they can be artisans, Jewish artisans are to be found. The concentration of the Jews into a few professions has been the work of external forces, and of the inherent conservatism of mankind. It was the inevitable result of all other doors being closed to them; and of the natural tendency of the son to follow in the footsteps of his father. It is, of course, true, that by renouncing his own people he could open all those doors which were shut against him, and many Jews have done so during the course of their European sojourn. But it can hardly be made an accusation against him if he keep his own religion and nationality at whatever cost, in a Europe which applauds the courage of a Czech, or Pole, or German, who refuses to surrender his birthright to the force of circumstances, and who retains, if need be through centuries, the sentiment and the tradition of his own people.

National tradition and culture, all that which goes up to make a " German " or a " Frenchman " or an " Englishman," is not born *ex vacuo* or out of vague generalisation, but out of the concrete experience of a people exercising all the professions which make up the life of a community. The priest, the peasant, the soldier, the landholder and the townsman, each bring their particular contribution to the whole, and without the contribution

of any one of these classes the whole would inevitably lose something. But with the Jew the experience gained by one who left the community in order to exercise a profession from which he was excluded while he remained in the Jewish community is lost to his people, so that the cultural inheritance of the Jew today is much narrower than that of the ordinary European.

The effect of the Middle Ages went, in fact, far deeper than the external effect of confining him to particular occupations and so of creating special efficiencies born of tradition and environment. It had a profound effect both upon the Jewish mentality and upon the Jewish religion. Their rejection by society was answered by a rejection of society, and the contempt which they encountered was met by that profound belief in their own superiority as the Chosen People which others have found so difficult to tolerate. The insults from which they frequently had to suffer developed an abnormal sensitiveness and tended to make them see offence where none was meant, and to weary the ears of those who were prepared to listen with complaints which, it must be admitted, were often exaggerated.

The dominance of rabbinical Judaism and the fanatical devotion of the Jewish people to the Law begins, significantly, with the exile. Prophet and priest who were, until then, in opposition to each other, were united in the person of Ezekiel. The Law was looked upon as the chief instrument for the preservation of the people, and indeed it has

filled its function. Yet there is scarcely a period, except that of extreme despair and oppression, in which there was not a strong Jewish reaction against its exclusive authority, and the prohibition of mystical religion and the liberal sciences. Such a protest is embodied in the Old Testament in two of the most fascinating of its Books, that of Job and that of Jonah, and the Book of Ecclesiastes could scarcely be said to breathe the narrow spirit of the legalist. In the eighth century of our era there was another reaction, and the foundation of a sect which exists to this day, and which rejects entirely the Talmudical authority. These are the Karaites. In the eleventh century came the great philosopher Maimonides. All through the Middle Ages there were individuals who kept alive the study of science and mathematics, of philosophy and letters, and whose names were widely known outside the boundaries of their people. Chamberlain, in his study of the Jewish religion, calls it a rationalistic materialism, and says that the whole mystical conception of religion is foreign to the Jewish mind. Apart from the obvious contradiction of this in the Bible itself, Judaism was never without a mystical element, though it shared the fate which befell Christian mysticism in periods of excessive intolerance, and compensated by its extravagance for its rejection by the orthodox. The Cabbalists were not entirely the contemptible degenerates described by Graetz, and the Chassidic movement founded by Baal-Shem-Tov, whatever its failings, was

justified as a reaction against the narrowness of conventional rabbinism. Its great opponent, Elijah Gaon[1] of Vilna, was himself one of the founders of the scientific and objective study of the historical documents of the Bible. But in spite of these reactions the rabbinical tradition fills the greater part of the picture of Jewish religion since the exile, and it resulted in certain consequences. There is some justification for attributing Jewish commercial sharpness to the intellectual gymnastics of the Talmudical schools. To some extent also, rabbinism was not free from interpreting the Law in ways by which the Jew could get the better of the Gentile and from justifying this by clever dialectic. Yet it is a gross exaggeration to say that this was a central part of Talmudical teaching. Inter-denominational charity is not so conspicuous among Christians that they can afford to throw stones. There are books by Protestants which explain that one of the chief delights of Heaven will be the terrace from which one can gaze down upon the wicked Romans burning alive, and there are Catholic works which find it a light enough sin to break faith with or to deceive a Protestant heretic. Yet no one would recognise such works as a just exposition of official Protestant or Catholic theology, and it is equally unjust to take the view of this or that rabbi incorporated in that heterogeneous mass of opinions

[1] Gaon is a title of honour, carried by the heads of the Rabbinic Schools of Babylon. It was a most exceptional case for it to be given to any other Rabbi.

known as the Talmud as the official view of Judaism. If it be said that the Talmud had greater authority than any particular book of Catholic or Protestant theology, it must be pointed out on the other hand that narrowness is an inevitable product of oppression. The Scottish Covenanters, the Jesuits in the time of Elizabeth, the Calvinistic minorities in France have exhibited even more unlovely characteristics than the rabbinical Jew.

For the Jew to regard himself as one of the Chosen People is only to say that he is just like the rest of us. There is no organised community from the most savage tribe of Borneo to the salons of New York which delights in proclaiming to the world its conscious and obvious inferiority to someone else. The claim to superiority is born as soon as a group becomes conscious of itself. "In the Middle Ages and later the nobility, as a rule, considered themselves of better blood than the common people, whom they utterly despised. The peasants were supposed to be descended from Ham, who, for lack of filial piety, was known to have been condemned by Noah to slavery. The knightly classes of many lands believed themselves to be the descendants of the Trojan heroes, who after the fall of Troy were said to have settled in England, France, and Germany. This theory is seriously maintained not only in numerous songs and tales of knightly deeds, but also in many scholarly works. In France, the home of the Franks, their stock, even

as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, was traced back to Francion, one of Hector's sons; indeed it is said that it was also for refuting this theory that Nicholas Freret was, in 1714, imprisoned in the Bastille."[1] There is not a race in Europe which does not regard itself as the Chosen People, from the German advocates of Teutonic superiority to Mr Mussolini with his belief in the glorious destiny of Fascist Italy, or to the English workingman with his idea of "furriners." It is said that the disease attacks the Jew in a particularly malignant way; and this is again only what one would expect. The claim to be a chosen race, if one may judge by general experience, is intensified in inverse relation to the recognition of that particular race by those among whom it wishes to be regarded as an equal. The race theory was born in Germany in the chaotic period of Napoleonic wars. In the writings of Fichte it is the compensation for the political feebleness and disunion which brought the German princelings into contempt. Later Germany's demand for a place in the sun was resented as the noisy clamouring of the parvenu by the old established States of Europe. Had they granted Germany that to which her historic culture and her political development obviously entitled her, many unpleasant sides of German character would never have been developed. The irritating tone of moral

[1] Hertz, *Race and Civilisation*, p. 4. The claim to Trojan ancestry was, of course, made before Chamberlain suggested the Semitic origin of the Trojan people.

superiority which is often felt by Europeans in their contacts with Americans is due to the suspicion of the latter that the former regard them as having no contribution to make to civilisation other than the dollar. The claim to moral superiority is the weapon of defence of an inferiority complex, and those are responsible for its effects who by their action make it seem that they regard the victim of the complex as an inferior. No people has had to suffer such a sentiment for a thousand years—except the Jew. To find, then, that he has the complex in an advanced stage is only what is to be expected; but, even so, it would be premature to proclaim the malady incurable until the patient has had a change of treatment.

The third effect of the Middle Ages was the creation of an "oppression complex." Here also the Jewish symptoms are very similar to those of other peoples who are, or who believe themselves, to be oppressed. The literature upon post-war pogroms is not greater than that upon the Treaty of Trianon. It is one of the most unfortunate consequences of oppression that it breeds in the oppressed a querulous spirit which often antagonises those who desire to be fair. This has certainly been the case with Hungary since the war. The real injustices of the treaty settlement have been obscured by the extent and the exaggeration of a great deal of the Hungarian propaganda. It is unfortunately true that the best case can lose its entire effective appeal by a single false statement or

a wilful exaggeration. Yet exaggeration is an almost irresistible temptation in a world grown callous to suffering, and often entirely ignorant of the whole situation of those who protest. The sacred cause of nationality is held to justify statements which the authors themselves know to be scientifically inaccurate. When J. M. Keynes, in the *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, reduced the inflated reparation figures to some scientific order, the reply of French writers was that he had left the sentiment out of his arithmetic. In the same way the oppressed feel that unless they shout very loudly their cry will go unheeded in the clamour of everyday life. In particular, since the days of cheap journalism and cheaper pamphleteering, a plain unvarnished statement of facts has little chance of gaining the public ear, but what the public ear gains the scientific ear rejects, and since there is no controversy which has not two sides, the exaggeration is generally thrust upon the head of the exaggerator with the righteous scorn of his opponent. No people have suffered more from this disease produced by oppression than have the Jews, and they are partly responsible for their just grievances not being heard when they state them with provable exaggeration. Another effect of oppression equally visible in others than the Jews, is the concentration upon one side of the question only. While many of the complaints in eastern Europe are well founded, too often they ignore entirely the difficulties upon the other side caused

by the general economic situation, and the political inexperience of their " oppressors."

It was the unfortunate but inevitable result of the Middle Ages that the Jew should shut himself up by himself and have as little to do with the Gentile as he could. But this made it equally inevitable that, when the Renaissance came, he should have absorbed but little of the culture and toleration of that period, and should have been unable to profit, except in a few cases, by the revival of interest among the humanists in his language and history. Just when Europe was beginning to shake off its mediæval prejudices, and when the breach might have been healed between Jew and Gentile, the Jew himself no longer wished this healing to take place. As Europe became more *sympathique*, it found the Jew more *antipathique*. The seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries are the " dark ages " of Judaism. Exhausted by their long suffering, their life still restricted at all points, they presented to the beginning of enlightenment the most pathetic and, at the same time, repellent picture of the survival of mediæval superstition and ignorance. Successive exiles, poverty, and the restriction of their opportunities of studying through the burning of their books, had reduced learning to a very low ebb. The rabbis themselves scarcely knew the Talmud. Their hatred of the Gentile had quenched all studies which seemed to have a non-Jewish flavour. A Maimonides in spite of the freedom of his ideas

could remain in the folds of the Judaism of the twelfth century, even if there was some opposition on the part of the ultra-orthodox. A Spinoza became an exile from Judaism. Jehuda Halevy could mould Hebrew as a living language. The Jewish jargon of the nineteenth century was meaningless to Heine; and not only did he write in German, but he even became a Roman Catholic. The Jews had, in fact, become what their mediæval persecutors wished them to become, an utterly degraded and outcast people.

To accentuate this situation, from 1648 to 1653 there were terrible massacres in Poland, with the result that large numbers of Polish Jews fled westward and spread over Europe. They brought with them not only a narrow rabbinical tradition, but also the doctrines of Jewish mysticism, the Kabbala, a mingling of eastern philosophy with magic and strange superstition. Even the great Amsterdam community produced nothing except wealth to compare with the culture of its ancestors in days of similar prosperity in Spain. Graetz sums up the situation of the Jews at the end of the seventeenth century in the following words: " Just at the time when the eyes of the civilised world were directed upon the Jewish race with a certain degree of sympathy and admiration, and when, at the dawn of enlightenment in the so-called philosophical century, ecclesiastical prejudices were beginning to disappear, the Jews were making a by no means favourable impression on those with whom they

came into contact. When they were weighed, even by those who wished them well, they were found wanting in the balance. . . . Several circumstances had contributed to render them utterly demoralised and despised. The former teachers of Europe had, through the sad course of centuries, become childish, or actually dotards. Every public or historical act of the Jews (at this time) bears a character of imbecility if not of contemptibility. There was not a single cheering event, hardly a person commanding respect who could worthily represent Judaism."[1] Granted a certain prejudice in Graetz as a rationalist against the mystical ideas of the Kabbalists and the Chassidim which were spreading over Judaism at this time, yet it is a picture not essentially different from that drawn by the more objective Dubnow, of the Jews in Poland: "The social and economic decline of the Polish Jews which set in after 1648 was not conducive to widening the Jewish mental horizon. . . . In those parts of the country which had suffered most from the 'terrible decade' the intellectual level of the Jewish masses sank lower and lower. Talmudic learning which was formerly widespread among the Jews of these provinces now became the possession of a narrow circle of scholars . . . but here too, the intellectual outlook became pettier and poorer."[2]

[1] Graetz, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 211.
[2] Dubnow, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 198.

From the territorial ghetto of compulsion the Jew had settled into the "ghetto of ideas." Enlightenment could only be obtained by going outside the community. The lack of wholesome food for an active intellect in orthodox rabbinism caused the brightest intelligences, like Spinoza, to renounce Judaism. Its petty intellectuality caused those who needed more emotional content in their faith to lose themselves in the mysticism of the Kabbala. Against both the rabbis hurled their bans of excommunication. In fact, excommunication, which had been exceedingly rare, became frequent in the synagogue, through the influence of the Marranos, who were accustomed from their Catholic experience to this method of ensuring orthodoxy. No new ideas were allowed entrance. The extent to which the Jews made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of Christians by this continual hurling of ecclesiastical thunderbolts at each other, is nowhere better shown than in the great controversy, in which nearly all European Jewries participated, between Emden, a prominent and learned Jew of Hamburg, and Eibeschütz, the rabbi of the community. Eibeschütz was supposed to be a believer in the false Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi, who had appeared in Turkey in the second half of the seventeenth century and had finally accepted Mohammedanism to save his life. Even so, many Jews still believed in him, among them apparently Eibeschütz, who had been discovered giving amulets to women afraid of dying in childbirth or otherwise afraid of

evil spirits, which invoked protection of the God of Israel in the name of his Messiah Sabbatai Zevi. That the rabbi of one of the most important communities in Europe could in any case occupy himself with the sale of miraculous amulets was sufficiently humiliating to Judaism. That the whole of European Jewry could be publicly torn over a controversy as to whether a man who had cheerfully accepted Mohammedanism to save his life, and had persuaded a number of other Jews to do likewise, could be the actual Messiah for whom the Jews had been waiting with such fidelity for two thousand years, was a still deeper humiliation. But rabbinical Judaism had become so dry and arid that the Jews, many of them, were prepared to accept any alternative other than the renunciation of their whole tradition and the acceptance of Christianity. Nothing else explains the hold which Sabbatai Zevi and other impostors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had upon the Jewish world. In Poland the chief of these impostors was a Podolian Jew, Jacob Frank, who founded a sect of Sabbatians who added still more to the scandal of Judaism by a hypocritical conversion to Catholicism. Frank himself was baptised in great state with the King of Poland as his godfather. In spite of this he was finally summoned before the Polish Inquisition as an impostor and blasphemer and imprisoned in a convent until the partition of Poland set him free.

Following the Frankist movement rose another in

the south of Poland, which had many nobler strains than that of the grossly materialistic Frankists. This was the movement of the Chassidim of which Besht (*B*aal-*S*hem-*T*ov) was the founder. He preached the omnipresence of God, and insisted that religion was a matter not of law but of joyful service. By contrast with the prevailing orthodoxy this idea of communion with an omnipresent God and the insistence upon joy as the most important element in religion attracted large numbers of followers, winning over ultimately the whole of Poland, except Vilna and the region immediately surrounding it, from which Elijah Geon hurled his denunciations of the new sect. Unfortunately there was another and less noble side of the Chassidic movement. They were firm believers in all kinds of magic, and the leaders of the sect, the Zaddiks, were supposed to be men who, by their holiness, could work miracles to produce all sorts of material advantages. The movement still survives and embraces most of the provincial Jews east of a line drawn from Warsaw to Vienna; and the Zaddiks, though sometimes learned men, and leading saintly lives, have developed on the whole into mere miracle workers like the mediæval sorcerers.[1]

The result of these developments upon the Jews has been that the intellectual in the nineteenth

[1] There is an interesting study of the life and entourage of a Zaddik in *L'Ombre de la Croix* by Jean et Jerôme Tharaud; and in *Le Juif errant est arrivé* by Albert Londres, Chapter XVIII.

century has found himself less and less at home in the Jewish community. It is not an accident that the daughters of Moses Mendelssohn, the founder of the ideas of " enlightenment and assimilation," should have been converted to Christianity. In spite of various movements, especially in Germany, such as that of the Measfim (which published a Hebrew journal), the ancient religion lost more and more of its hold upon the younger and intellectual generation. Neither the intellectual subtlety of orthodoxy, nor the magic and mysticism of the Chassidim really attracted them, and they either became converted to Christianity or abandoned all religious faith altogether. In either case they were lost to Judaism, with an inevitable result upon the Jewish community itself, which saw itself by these defections steadily deprived of its natural leaders. The number of those who remained adherents of their synagogue in more than name grew steadily less, particularly in western Europe. Movements of reform in America and Germany were violently opposed, and the ancient faith of the synagogue remained completely unaffected by the movements of thought current among the younger and freer members of the Jewish community.

It may be said with truth that the nineteenth century saw a parallel movement within all the Christian churches. But the effect of these movements is quite different. For an Englishman to cease to frequent his parish church does not in any way separate him from the life of other Englishmen

or imply any renunciation of his national tradition. A Jew who no longer belongs to his synagogue is, from the point of view of the orthodox, no longer a Jew. Nor is this all; the Englishman, ceasing to be a member of his national church, still retains his full share in the life of the national community, and has no motive for trying to conceal or to elude the fact that he is an Englishman. Nor would other people consider him less of an Englishman because he left the church. But a Jew who no longer believes in his synagogue has many reasons for trying to forget, and for persuading others to forget, that he is a Jew. To be one, implies many disabilities, which persist socially, even though politically he might be perfectly emancipated, and there can be little other reason for his retaining these disabilities other than that he feels his solidarity with his own people. But the only symbol of that solidarity (until the growth of the Zionist movement) has been his religion.

A Jew is accepted in society in the measure in which he denies his Judaism, and his kinship with those who are the object of the contempt and the dislike of the anti-Semites. By their insistence upon the despicable character of the Jew the anti-Semites have thus helped to keep him in the state of ignorance and dirt in which he is too often found, particularly in eastern Europe. The need for denying his fellowship with these Jews has been as powerful a magnet in drawing away the young intellectual who might have been working for their

regeneration, as is the dryness and the magic a means of repelling him. Few are strong enough to resist all that assimilation offers them, and to remain loyal to those masses who seem, and are, far more separated from them in ideas and in their way of life than is the non-Jew of the same cultural, intellectual and social level. Yet they have found that assimilation has not really solved their problem. Their acceptance by society is very often grudging, and their own hyper-sensitiveness makes them often ill at ease. Germany, the classical country of assimilation, has seen the rise of the bitterest of modern anti-Semitisms, and many younger Jews of today, tired of "wandering between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born," are being attracted to the Zionist movement, and are insisting again upon the fact of their Jewish origin.[1]

This is not the place for a lengthy study of Zionism, but in relation to this discussion, it is important to realise that its power to regenerate the

[1] Cf. *Israel* by Ludwig Lewisohn, especially Chapters II, III and IX, and contrast it with the chapter "Assimilation" in Fishberg's *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment.*

The Jewish situation in America, considered by itself would really require special treatment, too long for this book. Little has therefore been said about, for at present at any rate, in spite of the large numbers and powerful contributions to Jewish agencies and funds of American Jews, the significant countries for the understanding of anti-Semitism and the Jewish reaction to it are in Europe, and there the countries where assimilation is still the predominant ideal contains in all considerably less than a million Jews.

Jewish masses in eastern Europe or in New York and the big cities of the west, depends, not merely upon the success of the experiment in Palestine, but on its ability to find a means of creating self-respect among the 99 per cent. of Jews who do not, and who never will, live in Palestine itself. The real place in which the success or failure of the Zionist experiment will be shown is not in Palestine, but, through Palestine, in the ghettos of Poland, in the villages of Galicia and Rumania, and in the slums of the west. Though a great deal of the work of regeneration will result from public action in education and hygiene, its moral significance can only come from the work of Jews themselves for their fellow-Jews. It is no use blaming the authorities for everything. They can only step in at a certain stage. In any country the work of social uplift is primarily the result of the devotion of the voluntary worker and only secondarily of public authorities, and though the years following the war have seen an enormous extension of governmental activity in the social field, it still remains true that it is difficult to make men good by act of Parliament. So long as the thoughts of Palestine dominate the minds of the young Zionist intellectuals to the exclusion of the countries where they themselves and most of the Jews are living, so long will the Jewish problem remain unsolved. But, on the other hand, so long as anti-Semitism tends to deprive the Jewish people of their natural leaders by either condemning all Jews in a lump or by accepting only

those who renounce their membership of their community, so long is it asking too much of the average man whose race is Jewish but not his faith, that he should give his life to work which will permanently separate him from people of his own social and intellectual level.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE EFFECT UPON THE JEW OF HIS POSITION IN SOCIETY

"I DON'T like Jews, but I don't know why." Mention the Jewish problem to most people and that will be their answer. Added to the "instinctive" anti-Semitism which has come down from the mediæval Church, and is perpetuated by the Sunday School, there is a whole complex of feelings about Jews personally. There is a complete set of anecdotes about them, some simply humorous and which are told of Scotsmen or of Jews impartially, depending on whether at that particular moment it is Scotsmen or Jews who are being pilloried, but others which are told exclusively about the Jews, and which are said to be based upon "specifically Jewish" characteristics. It is this, and the exactness of these stories, which distinguishes anti-Semitism from other racial hatred, such as the hatred of coloured races by the whites. There not only are the accusations more vague and general, but they are mixed up with the general sense of the inferiority of the coloured race, which is supposed to exonerate them from excessive blame. These things are "what you expect" with

a "nigger"—almost it is not his fault. This element of recognition of extenuating circumstances is almost completely absent in similar accusations against the Jew. Yet there are more extenuating circumstances in his case than in any other. The memory of man is short; but the memory of the subconscious is very, very long. No ordinary man knows much about the history of the Jews in Europe, and since they are all about us, mixed in with European society, met with on every step of the social scale, it is the presumption of the ordinary man that the Jew has had approximately the same history as the rest of us since he left Palestine two thousand years ago, and that he is therefore responsible to the same extent as the rest of us, for his attitude to and his place in the society in which we both find ourselves.

As even this short essay will have shown, this is far from true. We have already considered Jewish history and traced the development of external causes upon the life and character of the Jewish community. Its traditions have been narrowed by being drawn from only a few classes and its characteristics have been formed and deformed by oppression and by self-defence. We must now study the effect of this same history upon the individual, and trace the results in him of the artificial milieu out of which he is drawn.

Needless to say, we are not considering the exceptional cases, either good or bad. Everybody knows Jews who are conspicuous for their learning

or for their generosity, and Jews who have made themselves notorious at the other end of the moral scale. But stories about individuals, though useful as illustrations, cannot take the place of argument, though it is a common human failure to use them as such. General arguments cannot be contradicted by stories about individuals. It is not the man who moulds his own fate, whether good or bad, but the man whose fate is moulded by his setting, that is, the average man, who must be the subject of such a study.

Conduct is conditioned not only by individual temperament and mentality, but by history and social environment. Society protects itself against " the ape and tiger " in man by establishing norms for keeping them within bounds. At different stages the norms have differed, but they have generally been final in their authority, and there are few who escape even partially from their influence. Although the phrase that human nature is weak is used to justify moral laziness of all kinds, yet it is true that the saying " man is a social animal " implies not merely that he enjoys society, but even more that it is in society and its mutual responsibilities that he develops his virtues. In the past the norms of society have been usually static and external, tribal taboos, religious doctrines and prescriptions, or rules imposed by authority. At other times they are dynamic and self-created by the living community in its own evolution.

The Jewish Law is largely of the static variety,

but if we ask what are the factors which have created the European society of today we are confronted with a dynamic norm, the force of public responsibility. The greatest humanising and civilising agency of modern times has undoubtedly been the evolution of democracy. Humanity rises from childhood to manhood in its adoption of the ideal of the citizen in place of the subject, whether in State or Church, or social relationship. Ideally, democracy is the greatest discipline which man has yet invented, and responsibility and tradition are together its strongest supports. There is no community on record possessing a morally healthy life which was deprived of the exercise of that degree of responsibility of which it was capable. Neither good government nor prosperity are substitutes. There is an old saying that man does not live by bread alone, and a newer one, equally true, that good government is no substitute for self-government. Tradition and responsibility expressed in discipline and opportunity are essential to moral health. Where one of these is lacking there is decline of one sort or another. Dictatorships and autocracies on the one hand, and colonial exploitation on the other, provide the most glaring examples of the truth of this. For the inner discipline is substituted the single law: "Thou shalt not be found out." Autocracy produces moral rottenness in the governing class holding their positions by the whim of a ruler or by subservience to a slogan. Around them gather a class of syco-

phants whose only creed is to obey the behests of their rulers, and the rest of the people are either servile or secretly rebellious. In business autocracy there is the same rottenness, whether it be "graft" or the pitiless exploitation of the feeble. In either case humanity exercising or submitting to irresponsible control shows its worst sides.

We have seen already how Jewish traditions have been narrowed down both by external causes and by internal reactions. Turning from the past to the present, what does this mean in terms of responsibilities and opportunities? What has conditioned Jewish development in modern society?

In the answer is revealed the tragedy of their situation. Circumstances have been such that the Jew has developed under precisely those conditions which are likely to bring out the worst in human nature. Every government has been for him a dictatorship, for he has lived under conditions in the making of which he has had no share, politically, socially, or commercially.[1] The mediæval guilds excluded him from their membership, but attempted to compel him to observe their rules. Society may accept him, but expects him to observe its own code. Countries may give him hospitality, but on condition of his observing their manners and customs. He must either accept what is offered him without criticism, or his opposition must be underground. Laws are made which affect him, but he has no open

[1] Compare, for example, *Loyalties*, by John Galsworthy.

and straightforward way of opposing, or even influencing them. It is only in quite recent times, and in a restricted way, that there have been openly Jewish political parties. Usually he has had either to accept them, or to use such secret influences as financial pressure, and the press to alter them. He has been a subject and not a citizen, and as such he has had no ground for that instinctive loyalty to society which is expected from a free and responsible member of it. It is in the light of this that we ought to consider the many accusations of disloyalty which are made against him.

During wartime especially, Jews were attacked for their lack of patriotism, but it is noticeable that it is mostly in countries such as Russia and Rumania, in which the Jew has only possessed the full rights of citizenship since the last war. From Serbia comes precisely opposite evidence. In a speech at Zagreb in 1929 Mr Marinkovitch referred to the services rendered by Jewish soldiers during the war, as having been in no way inferior to that of the Serbs themselves. It is interesting that in Serbia there was no Jewish problem and no hostility to the Jews. During the war also, many Czechs deserted the Austrian army and sided with the Allies. Poles living before the war in Russia were found seeking their national liberty from Germany, while German Poles were found among the Allies. But of neither Poles or Czechs is it said that because of this fact they are inherently disloyal. All that can be said is that where, in any people, this fact of disloyalty

exists, there are usually adequate local grounds for its explanation.

The individualism of which the Jew is often accused is but another form of social disloyalty. He is said to be self centred and to seek only his own advantage and to remain completely indifferent to the public good. Here also, it is noticeable that when this accusation is made in France or Germany, it is usually made against the recent emigrants from the east who have made a rapid fortune in the countries of their adoption. Jewish war profiteers, and the Jews who made fortunes out of speculation in the post-war currencies, and who flaunted their wealth amid the general distress and poverty, are particularly often quoted. Let it be said at once that such people, whether Jew or Gentile, are an unpleasant class. The *nouveau riche* may be explained, but he can rarely be excused, especially in such circumstances as these. But this profiteering was certainly not an exclusively Jewish sin as a glance at the war titles in England will show, and even if the proportion of such among the Jews was higher than elsewhere, it is unjust to blame more than the individuals concerned. When we hear that Mr Brown has just made a fortune out of selling bad meat to the troops we say, " Look at that damned scoundrel, Mr Brown." We do not say, " Look at that damned Englishman." But if it be Mr Levy, we say, " Look at that damned Jew," and the whole nation suffers for the sins of that particular individual.

We have already seen how much of the " com-

mercial dishonesty " of which the merchants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries complained was due, not to a moral defect, but to the disadvantageous position of the Jew in relation to the native merchant. While this explains a good deal, and while some of the complaints are probably of the kind referred to by Mr Gilman in Galsworthy's play *Loyalties*, " To tell you the truth, I don't like—well, not to put too fine a point upon it—'Ebrews. They work harder; they're more sober; they're honest; and they're everywhere. I've nothing against them, but the fact is—they get *on* so "; there still remains a certain real basis for the accusation. In Germany and Hungary where the religion of the offender is given in official statistics, the convictions of Jews for such crimes as fraudulent bankruptcy, libel and perjury show a higher percentage than among the non-Jewish commercial population.[1] This is, indeed, an unpleasant side of Jewish character. It is to a certain extent balanced by the low criminality of the Jews as a whole.[2]

[1] See *The Jews: A Study of Race and Environment* by Dr M. Fishberg, Chapter XIX, " Criminality."

[2] Official statistics have just been published in Poland of criminality for the years 1923 to 1925, and show that the average criminality of the Jews is only 50 per cent. that of the Poles (29.5 as opposed to 65.1 per 10,000 population). The classification employed does not allow an accurate study of the distribution of offenders, but it is noticeable that the Jews are an almost exclusively urban population, and that crime in the towns is twice as high as crime in the country, so that the small percentage of Jewish criminality is even more striking.

There is also a parallel, which puts the matter in its true proportion in the business graft of the United States. Open political means are rarely used to secure particular ends by big business, with the result that much is done by secret bribery and arrangement in the lobbies of Washington.[1]

The explanation already given of the general position of Jews in society explains also the accusation that they are perpetually a disintegrating factor. While the extent to which the Jews participate in revolutionary activities is sometimes grossly exaggerated, and even the most conservative and capitalistic of them are supposed to have secret dealings with communism, they have played a very considerable part in the revolutionary movements of modern times. But here also, parallels can be drawn from non-Jewish sources; and the cause of the disease is the same, either the lack of a stable anchorage in the community, or the absence of the possibility of political and executive experience. There is the general fact that the mass of revolutionaries are drawn from those who do not have " a stake in the community "—the landless and capitalless worker in the big towns—in other words, the group which has no particular reason for supporting things as they are. To this group belongs a larger proportion of Jews than anyone else. The revolutionary class in Ireland was of this kind, and there were no Jews among them. All peasant revolts

[1] Compare *America Comes of Age* by André Siegfried, Chapters XVIII and XXVII.

bear the same character in their struggle to own the land on which their livelihood depends, so that they may no longer be at the mercy of a landlord who may, at short notice, deprive them of their living. A second class of revolutionary movement which explains the disintegrating tendency of the Jewish intellectual is the revolt of the intelligentsia in States ruled by foreign governments or by military and aristocratic autocracies. The influence of the Jews in the French Revolution of 1830 and the many revolutions of 1848 was relatively small, and even if there were many Jews in these movements the same phenomena have reproduced themselves in China and Japan and throughout the colonial possessions of the white empire entirely without Jewish help. These revolutions or revolutionary movements exist because the conditions are the same,—the growth of a class of intellectually trained persons who are denied the access to political responsibility which would allow them to work out in fact their theories, and, by the test of life and executive responsibility, find the balance which cannot be given by theoretical study. In India and China it is interesting to note that the small Jewish population is among the most conservative elements in the situation.

Yet another complaint against the Jew which can be traced to the same reasons is that he works the moral degradation of the Christian communities among whom he lives. The introduction of the divorce laws in France by Alfred Naquet is often

quoted as a deliberate plot of the Jewish people against family life, which is the basis of Christian morality; and to the Jewish spirit are traced every immorality and obscenity of modern city corruption. But it is difficult for the Jew to degrade if there is no one willing to be degraded. As Leroy Beaulieu says in *Israel parmi les Nations*,[1] "Is it really Israel that has given the tone to French literature in the past fifty years? And why should the most depraved literature be that of France, the country that has relatively the smallest number of Jews? What is there essentially Semitic in our plays and novels? Their realism, that takes delight in degrading human nature, their enervating pessimism, their insipid dilletantism, their mountebank silliness, are these the products of the synagogue? . . . Someone has said: 'There are almost as many Semites to be found at our small literary suppers as on the exchange'; but I do not see how one can claim for them the initiative in this matter. . . . Those sons of Jacob simply follow the fashion of today while attempting to guess that of tomorrow. . . . It is our frivolity, our rottenness, and our vices, inculcated by us and copied from us, that those Hebraiculi, those degenerate Jewlings, are practising for the sake of our pleasure or their own profit. They fill our cups, alas, with water from our own springs and wine of our own vintage."

[1] From the English translation, *Israel among the Nations*, p. 265 ff.

It is to be noted that those Jews who can be accused of this perversion of Christian morals are emphatically of the class already referred to as " wandering between two worlds," who have lost the restraints of the synagogue, without coming into the discipline of membership of another community.

Just as we see the harmful effect of the lack of responsibility, or of adequate opportunities for expression to be the cause of many Jewish failings, so also we can trace others to the ill effects of the power of exploitation. One of the most tragic and harmful occupations of the Jew, and one that has, perhaps, brought him more hatred than any other, is that of publican and moneylender in the villages of eastern Europe. There is little doubt that, while all Jews engaged in such occupations are neither criminal nor inhuman, it has lent opportunities for exploitation which have been morally very bad for both the Jews and for the peasants who were too weak to resist the exploitation. But is it so certain that such a situation is due to specifically Jewish vices? If it were, we would not expect to find it in existence, apart from the Jews. But, in fact, we do. In Ireland and in India, to take two countries far removed from each other in civilisation, but similar in the fact that they have big peasant populations, and few Jews, the question of peasant indebtedness is one of the gravest agricultural problems, but it is to members of their own nationality that they are indebted, and the solution is generally recognised not to lie as much with the

restriction of the moneylenders' profession as with the extension of the peasants' education.

The *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India* is extremely interesting in this connection, and many of the problems with which it dealt, and the solutions which it proposed are valid in countries such as Poland and Rumania. It says: "In the present state of India, the moneylender is a necessity, and, that being so, his calling will not be abolished by making it illegal. He alone is in a position to provide the bulk of the capital required for current agricultural needs and, on a recurrence of severe distress, he will continue, as in the past, to support the people by kindly loans. If he is ever driven from the land, it will not be by legislation but by the growth of the coöperative movement, and, more especially, by the habits of thrift inculcated by that movement. Where thrift is absent, the vagaries of the monsoon drive the people to borrow and, unless the coöperative movement spreads into every village and includes every inhabitant in its fold, borrowing will continue. No one denies the services rendered by the moneylender; the charge against him is that these services are rendered at too great a price and are accompanied by practices which result in great evils. The system is usurious; the ready lending for unproductive purposes[1] leads

[1] In India this is mostly for ceremonial expenses such as marriage, but it is interesting to compare this with the indebtedness of the eastern European peasant to the Jewish shopkeeper, through his ability to obtain drink on credit, which is considered to be one of the gravest evils in peasant life.

to poverty and economic servitude; the steady absorption of rights in land places the moneylender in a position of uncontrolled power, and uncontrolled power is almost invariably abused." In discussing the efforts made to rescue the peasant by legislation controlling the moneylender, the Report goes on to say, " The people are so accustomed to be in debt, to take it over from their fathers and to pass it on to their sons, that they accept indebtedness as a settled fact, and a natural state of life. So much is this the case that well-meant attempts to give them a fresh start by wholesale redemption of old debts have proved unsuccessful. Where coöperative societies have advanced enough to repay all the claims of moneylenders, the debtor fails to make the effort to pay regular instalments, even when they are well within his capacity, and slips back into the old state of bondage. It is now generally accepted that such attempts should not be made by coöperative societies until the debtor has learned the habits of punctuality and thrift." [1]

In countries where the Jews have been removed from the village inns, one would expect to find the consumption of alcohol diminish if the blame for peasant drunkenness was to be laid primarily at the door of the Jew. But in Rumania, for example, the Jews were excluded from the village inns by a law of 1873, and between 1886 and 1907 the con-

[1] See Report quoted, pp. 433 and 435. The whole of the chapter on " The Finance of Agriculture " is worth studying in this connection.

sumption of alcohol was quadrupled. It is not laws restricting the activity of the moneylenders, or of the sellers of alcohol, which will change the situation, though restrictive measures may well be part of the cure, whatever the nationality of the people concerned. But at bottom the problem of village indebtedness and village drunkenness is that of peasant improvidence, and the cure is education and rural enlightenment, the creation of coöperatives, and the encouragement of thrift. If this is not done, and the government contents itself with attempting to restrain the exploiters, it will only find that the peasant, if he cannot be in debt to the Jew is in debt to someone else. Where there is a provident and saving peasantry as in France or Denmark, they are indebted to neither Jew nor Gentile.

Though in this, the chief sphere of uncontrolled Jewish exploitation, it is seen that restrictive legislation is not likely to help, and that the only cure is constructive self-protection on the part of the exploited, there is a sphere in which restrictive measures are very necessary. This is in the field of "sweated labour," which attracts numbers of the more unscrupulous Jews in the centres of western Europe where there is a large pauper population. As often as not the exploited themselves are penniless Jewish immigrants. No one is likely to sympathise with these vultures, but again it is they themselves and not the Jewish community which should be condemned.

Many other examples might be quoted to show that the present-day Jew is the outcome of his history rather than his race. The same conditions usually produce the same effects upon human nature. The possession of wealth without the full responsibility in the community which wealth should bring, or the uncontrolled exploitation of the weak, is always demoralising, whether it be American industrial magnates or Jewish business men, European exploiters of the native races, or Jewish exploiters of eastern European peasants. The possession of intelligence and of the means of education without an outlet in executive work always creates unrest, whether it be the Indo-Chinese student struggling against the French, the Indian dissatisfied with his insufficient share in the public affairs of his country, or the Jewish intellectual excluded from careers to which his qualifications entitle him. Where these conditions exist, there is trouble, whether it be Jew or Gentile.

## CHAPTER IX

### CONCLUSIONS

This essay has been a historical survey and not a consideration of the present situation. Consequently this chapter deals only with those bases of the solution of the problem which history suggests. It is no part of its task to outline a practical programme. To do that it would be necessary to study the present situation separately in every country, and to take account of all the differences in local conditions. But just as there is a form in which the Jewish problem can be studied as a unity, in spite of the divisions of Jewish opinion, so also there are certain bases upon which the different solutions in the different countries will have to be built, in spite of the differences in national conditions.

In so short a treatment of the subject it has also been necessary to omit many variations of opinion, and to treat only of the average, and that in fairly large generalisations. There are, undoubtedly, some Jews who might have been stupid or ambitious enough to have composed the rigmarole known as the Protocol of the Sages of Zion, but to have treated them as average Jews would have been to lose all sense of proportion; and they themselves

will not alter their opinions of their own superiority, because the superiority complex is shown to have more roots in the psychology of oppression than in the realities of the prophets. There are anti-Semites who adopt their views for completely unworthy motives. But they also are outside the scope of this essay. Neither the one nor the other really matter. They are misfortunes which can best be borne in silence.

If a solution is to be found, it must be one which can recommend itself to the average man on both sides. And it is essential to realise that there are many who would be considered by the Jews to be definitely "anti-Semitic" who have deep ethical and cultural reasons for their attitude. They may be wrong in their method of action, but no solution of the question is possible, and no approach to it is likely to prepare a lasting result, which does not recognise that there are real values at issue on both sides, and that the non-Jew is often anxious to protect something which is as precious to himself as are his rights and his liberty to a Jew. To class any opinion unsympathetic to the Jews or their ambitions as "anti-Semitism" and therefore, supposedly, simple prejudice, is to shut one's eyes to the facts.

This has a special importance in relation to the frequently uttered Jewish appeal that all that they desire is no discriminatory treatment. In abstract law the appeal is obviously just, in practice it is very often to ask to allow the scales to be heavily weighted in their favour. "If it is remembered," says Count

Skrzynski, " that the Jews as a whole have a very high level of intellectual education and furnish the intellectual professions with a relatively greater number of candidates than the Polish or any other Slavish nationality, it must also be realised that if the Jews in a higher number and *without restrictions* were allowed to occupy official posts in the administration of the country, the paradoxical result would follow that the administration would be composed of at least 50 per cent. of Jews. Such a state of affairs would be totally insupportable for the Polish and Christian population. It must be remembered that already in the free professions, such as law and medicine, the Jews form in many Polish provinces a half and in some cases more than half of the total.

" A complete fulfilment of the Jewish nationalistic demands in the sphere of education would have the result of creating in the future a very large class of Jewish intelligentsia, brought up with the sentiment of total separation from the Poles, and necessarily causing much friction and bringing about an intolerable situation in the State. As a matter of fact this question is exceedingly delicate and difficult. The Jews, if they do not receive national equality will never be good and loyal citizens of Poland. Poland, on the other hand, if it gives them such equality will ultimately cease to be Polish in the national sense." [1] This is a fair

[1] *Poland and Peace*, by Count Alexander Skrzynski. The italics are ours. Count Skrzynski was twice Foreign Minister, and later Prime Minister of Poland.

expression of the fears of those who are confronted with the difficult task of creating a new State or of maintaining an old culture, and who have to deal with a Jewish minority possessing a higher average of education than the mass of the population. Count Skrzynski leaves it a "delicate question." Is it possible to go a little further, and to see some of the conditions necessary to a solution?

On both sides there is urgent need to escape from the past. There is no solution possible which does not work upon a basis of undoing what centuries of dislike and oppression have created, not only in the minds of Jews, and non-Jews, but also in the actual professional and social relations of today. The Jews, through no choice of their own, came to occupy the position of a middle class, between peasant and baron in most of the communities in which they have settled. They were a necessary cement in society, fulfilling all those functions without which civilisation is impossible. It has already been shown how their position as foreigners placed them perpetually at a disadvantage when native competition arose, and how, one after another, their occupations were curtailed. Non-Jewish Europe today is no longer divided into barons and peasants, and, in addition, the economic freedom which was left to the Jew has been steadily crushed out by developments which have substituted the coöperative and the huge centralised store, or government monopoly for the little independent shopkeeper. While some Jews made

huge fortunes in the nineteenth century, the mass of the population fell into greater and greater poverty, and this decline has been accentuated since the war, particularly by the increase of monopolies. The Jew can rightly point out that he took to his different professions through no choice of his own, but through legal or economic compulsion, and can, in many cases, show that there has been actual injustice in the way in which he has been deprived of a livelihood. But in the main it is not a legal question, nor one for which there are legal remedies. It is the "injustice" of nature more than that of man, and protestation will not alter it. But he can ask that the non-Jew recognise the dilemma in which he is placed and that the fault lies with him as much if not more than with the Jew. He also cannot undo the past, and the past has a heavy account against him. The way out needs to be a new way, not the re-opening of barriers across the old paths.

The second important fact is that the choice of nationalism or assimilation, which will decide to a considerable extent the lines of the solution, is a Jewish choice. Assimilation and nationalism are the terms of the peculiar form of party politics which have been necessitated by the peculiar position of the Jewish people. It is as much their private affair to decide as it is for Mr Brown to decide whether he wishes to be a conservative or a socialist. No solution is possible which is based upon forcing the Jews from outside to adopt one

line or the other. They in their turn cannot ignore the fact that the choice which they may make will have an effect upon the nations among whom they are living. This is also true about Mr Brown's choice between the conservative and the socialist party, only we are not accustomed to realising it. No two parties have the same ideas about foreign politics, so that it makes a profound difference to its neighbours whether a country is governed by a party friendly to them or not. Yet so far as force or diplomatic pressure is concerned, any attempt to impose upon a country the choice of a particular party because of its foreign policy would be properly resented. The Jews have the same right to resent being told from outside that their acceptance in the body-politic depends upon their taking this or that attitude to their own culture or tradition.[1]

In granting the Jews this right to decide, the non-Jew cannot remain indifferent to the choice which the Jew makes. To be assimilated implies to be absorbed within, and therefore to some extent to influence, another culture; to be a nationalist implies the perpetuation of two cultures within the same geographical limits. Neither solution is going to be easy. At present the tendency among the Jews in Europe seems to be to reject the movement of assimilation which was so strong in the nineteenth century. A well-known Jewish writer in America, Ludwig Lewisohn, writes: " Assimilation

[1] Compare the quotation from *The New Poland* on p. 142.

is bankrupt. Germany was the great laboratory of the experiment. I think that the experiment was necessary. It was an unescapeable part of the modern historic process. But the experiment has failed. It is not necessary that several American generations be sacrified to foreknown humiliation and predictable disaster." In another place he even says: "The cause of modern anti-Semitism is assimilation." [1] Nor, in spite of Charles Phillips, do all Poles want it. Skrzynski writes: "According to psychological laws which govern the life of every national and cultural community, and which control their reciprocal relations, a successful assimilation of two and a half million Jews with seventeen million Poles is rather doubtful. For such a thing to take place the Jewish community is much too large and too strong from the racial and mental point of view, the divergent forces being stronger than those which converge." And again: "It would be a complete illusion, obviously bad for both sides, if one looked for a general assimilation as the practical solution of the Jewish problem." [2]

Obviously there will always be some Jews who will pass into the cultural influence of the community in which they live, and there is no reason why they should not do so. But, just as they have a right to choose, so there are rights on the side

[1] *Israel*, by Ludwig Lewisohn, p. 79. The whole of the chapter is interesting.

[2] Skrzynski, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

of the community into which they pass. The half-assimilated Jew is apt to have lost the virtues of the synagogue without acquiring another inheritance. It is he, rather than the learned Jewish savant, or the cultured Jewish landholder, who justifies the complaint of many anti-Semites that the Jew is a disintegrating and a demoralising factor in the community which he adopts. For this reason the choice of assimilation by the Jew imposes special responsibilities, for he becomes in some sort an ambassador from his old culture to the new.

The solution of nationalism is beset with almost as many difficulties and will differ in its practical programme in every country. There are, however, certain general conditions which will apply wherever the community is large enough to be a self-conscious entity and to claim recognition as such.

The Minority Treaties, though they contain the statement of certain elementary rights, do not afford any constructive basis for the solution of any minority problem, and especially are they almost useless to the Jews. They would be no better off, in so far as anti-Semitism is concerned, if they were given far more fully than they are given today, the protection which those treaties are supposed to afford them. Agitation for this fulfilment may be necessary, but it is an illusion to think that if the agitation is successful the problem will be solved. It may secure the removal of injustice: it will not provide a basis of coöperation. The bases of the conflict between Jew and non-Jew go too deep into

every sphere of national life, and no cure which does not touch the roots of the disease will help the patient. Protestation against official or unofficial discrimination, especially the institution of the *numerus clausus*, has also only a small constructive value. It goes without saying that where there are patent injustices, there is no solution without their removal, and that therefore protestation against discrimination, and a demand for the fulfilment of rights guaranteed by the Minorities Treaties are inevitable; but these protests themselves are only likely to be fully successful when made with a recognition that their sphere is limited, and when they are accompanied by proposals of a positive nature.

Nor is Palestine a solution. That form of Zionism which is as jingoistic as any other nationalism is, in fact, positively harmful to the real spiritual cause which Zionism should serve. If nationalism is the choice of the Jewish people, then they are all affected by the success or failure of the Zionist experiment, even though Palestine itself never contain more than 10 per cent. of them. For this small percentage to cultivate the land of their ancestors with success is not enough. Now that it is realised that the original dream of bringing the majority of the people to Palestine cannot be accomplished, while at the same time, nationalism rather than assimilation seems to be the ideal of the Jews in dispersion, Zionism loses a great deal of its importance unless it is careful to connect

Palestine with the Jews elsewhere. This means that its primary value is as a great and spiritual ideal, and that it must be kept uncorrupted by that jingoism which has turned nationalism in post-war Europe into a disease. For the other nations, this corruption, though tragic, is not necessarily fatal. For the land on which they live is still theirs, and they have time and opportunities for repentance. But for the Jew to fail is to be turned out of Palestine, and therefore to lose the cultural and spiritual centre of his nationalism. Even though but few Jews may live there, Palestine is the sacred soil for all. There the noblest ideals of Jewish religion and the experience of life in innumerable countries are gathered and interpreted, and thence they radiate to bring new life to the Jews of the dispersion. Palestine is not a solution in itself, but success in Palestine is necessary to a solution in the different countries of the diaspora.

Under its inspiration, and with the feeling of self-respect and moral independence which it can give, the task has also to be undertaken of working out a new form of nationalism in the countries of Europe. Here the Jew is working under the handicap of general conditions, over which he has little control. So long as there is a general condition of tension between nations, such an effort is bound to meet with a certain amount of suspicion on the side of the nationals, who will not know where the Jew is placing his final loyalty. But it is to be hoped that ultimately European civilisation

is going to overcome the danger of internal wars, and will be able to estimate a man's value by other standards than that of his willingness to die for a particular frontier. So long as this remains the test of loyalty, the Jews are only likely to be able to develop their own national life in so far as they are willing and able to consider their obligation as citizenship to the State of the majority as binding upon themselves. Nor, so long as war is recognised as a possibility, is it unjust to ask this of them. If this is loyally given by the Jews, then they can ask for co-operation and toleration on the part of the rest of the population in the solution of the political, cultural and economic aspects of their nationalism.

Ultimately two cultures will only survive side by side if each has an equal power of attraction. The ghetto walls can never be restored in a physical sense, and the tendencies today make it unlikely that the Jewish religion by itself will have the power to compel the adherence of all members of the Jewish race. Palestine and the dispersion will have to coöperate in building up a new Jewish culture upon a broad basis embracing all sides of life and powerful enough to attract the Jew voluntarily to remain within its fold.

The construction of a concrete programme of one kind or another is a condition of the disappearance of anti-Semitism for two reasons. It will clear the air of those vague and therefore irrefutable arguments which at present poison the issue, and give a positive and practical basis for

relations between Jews and non-Jews which will allow both sides to know where they stand in relation to each other. It does not matter much if the majority find the proposals made to them from the Jewish side at first to be unacceptable, so long as both sides are prepared to reconsider them and to collaborate on what they respectively propose. The second reason for the importance of a concrete programme is that it will dissipate the psychological difficulties created by the Jew being always in an inferior position, and the subject of the legislation of others. It will be the formal recognition that there are rights on both sides to be safeguarded, and that each desires to respect those of the other.

The Jewish problem will never be solved until anti-Semitism as we know it today disappears. It is suggested that the part which the Jews can play to secure this disappearance is to acknowledge that the past cannot be restored, and to turn to making a clear programme of constructive suggestions, both internationally (*i.e.* in relation to Palestine) and nationally. But anti-Semitism cannot be destroyed by Jewish action alone. Leaving aside the fanatic, it is reasonable to ask of the ordinary man that he recognise the influence of history rather than Jewish malevolence in the creation of the present situation and the present Jewish character. It is only so that it will be possible to consider scientifically the actual issues which must arise in an attempt to solve the question. If at any time he

feels that the Jew is in the wrong he is, naturally, at liberty to say so. What makes it impossible to cope with the present difficulties is the automatic presumption that it is the Jew who is in the wrong, and still more, that because of a particular grievance which may be perfectly justified in a particular situation, all Jews are equally in the wrong about it. It would already be an enormous change if only those Jews were accused of a particular action who were actually concerned in it.

If the demand of the Jews for the fulfilment of the Minority Treaties, and for the abolition of all discrimination against them would not, as has been suggested, be a very positive step forward, yet a sincere examination of the present situation would probably reveal many cases in which actual injustices are being imposed upon the Jews, which are not in the least necessary for the protection of the nationals. But even more important is the opening of other avenues to the Jews. If Poland, as Count Skrzynski indicates, does not wish to have 50 per cent. of Jewish officials, it is reasonable of the Jews to ask for Polish collaboration in developing other possibilities of earning a livelihood. The negative side of the renunciation of anti-Semitism is to blame a Jew for his own sins, and not for the sins of any other Jew. The positive side is to collaborate with those Jews who are anxious to find the right adjustment of their situation in the general body of the State, and, where executive power lies with one side only, to be prepared to

carry out the measures necessary to put the adjustment into practice.

Much of the task of the regeneration of the Jewish community, and the elimination of those defects which give grounds for the accusations against them, must be done by Jewish effort, but at least there should be a recognition on the part of the non-Jew of his part in the responsibility for the creation of a community which we have seen to be particularly likely to show defects in its relations to its neighbours. There may be many steps which can only be taken by Jewish initiative, but the end of the road can never be reached without non-Jewish co-operation.

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